

THE PAPERS *of the*
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF AMERICA

VOLUME FIFTY-TWO

FOURTH QUARTER, 1958

Don Fernando Colón and His London
Book Purchases, June 1522

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WHEN Don Fernando Colón, the natural son of Christopher Columbus, died at Seville in 1539 at the early age of fifty, he had amassed a fabulously rich library of 15,370 books and manuscripts.¹ He had for many years been travelling extensively in various countries of Europe, and had been in the habit of sending back to Seville the books which he bought on his journeys. These books formed the nucleus of the library named after him, the Biblioteca Colombina at Seville.²

Many of the books described in the catalogue of this library, whether bought in London or elsewhere, are so rare that only two or three copies are known: in some cases they are unique. Among the London purchases here listed, no. 47 is not otherwise known; while nos. 46, 62, 68 and 76 are incunabula of which the usual authorities record only one other copy. It is, therefore, a matter of great importance that the contents of the Colombina library should become better known by the outside world; and

¹ Henry Harrisse, *Excerpta Colombiniana* (Paris, 1887), p. 34. For the biography of Colón, see also the same author's anonymous *Fernand Colomb. Sa vie, ses oeuvres* (Paris, 1872).

² Sevilla. *Biblioteca Colombina. Catálogo de sus libros impresos, publicado . . . bajo la inmediata direccion de su bibliotecario*. 7 tom. (Seville, 1888-1948).

for English-speaking bibliographers they add one new author and title, as well as fourteen other locations, to the S.T.C.

In most of his books Don Fernando wrote a note of the place and date of purchase, with the price in local currency and its equivalent in gold ducats. In June 1522 he came to London for approximately a month,³ and bought the eighty books which are described below. He may have bought considerably more, since his manuscript register, preserved at Seville, contains some entries for books which do not now appear in the published catalogue, such as a copy of St. John Fisher's *Contio*, translated by Richard Pace, Cambridge, John Siberch, 1521 (S.T.C. 10898), which bears the number 408 in the Colón Register. The catalogue also contains nine of Robert Whittinton's grammars, but only one of these states that it was bought in London. Again, many books from the Colombina library have been lost, stolen or sold between 1539 and 1888 when the catalogue began to be published.⁴ It should be clearly understood that the present article is confined to those books listed in the published catalogue. Work on the manuscript register would not only entail a prolonged stay in Seville, but also an unusual grasp of the peculiar code-system which it was Don Fernando's pleasure to adopt. Nevertheless, the eighty books here described, all but two of which can be ascribed to a particular printer, give valuable information not only on the prices paid in London in 1522, but also on the kind of books which were available, and the towns abroad from which they were most frequently imported. A glance at the printers' index shows that over a quarter of them came from Paris; not less than six were from Koelhoff's press at Cologne, and the same

³ He came to England with Charles I, King of Castile (by then the Emperor Charles V), who left Calais on May 28, 1522, and did not leave England again until July 4. HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 14, n. 1.

⁴ H. HARRISSE, *Toujours la Colombine!* (Paris, 1897), a pamphlet of eleven pages, denounces the latest thefts from the Biblioteca Colombina and shows that the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris was able to rescue fourteen of the Colombina books which turned up for sale in Paris.

number from that of Johannes de Westfalia at Louvain. It is, however, surprising that only one book is Venetian. Of the 78 books with a precise imprint, 32 came from France, 14 from Germany, 13 from Belgium, six from Italy and five from Holland: eight were native English productions. It was natural that Don Fernando should not buy any Spanish or Portuguese books in London. The small number of English-printed works is explained by the fact that his London purchases were limited to books in the Latin language, and that in general he was interested only in works of a religious and moral nature.

Profitable comparisons can be made between this list of retail prices in 1522 and those of the anonymous bookseller of *circa* 1510,⁵ and of John Dorne at Oxford in 1520.⁶ Two of the books are identical with two of those described in Mr. Bennett's recent article,⁷ and here it is interesting to observe that while Horman's *Vulgaria* of 1519 was sold unbound for tenpence wholesale, according to the contract drawn up between Horman and Pynson, Don Fernando paid sixteen pence for his copy three years later—whether bound or unbound we do not know.⁸

The *Promptorium* of Wynkyn de Worde, printed in September 1516, was sold unbound by John Dorne at Oxford for fivepence in 1520, while Don Fernando paid the high sum of eighteen pence for his (bound?) copy in 1522. Sixty-four *penins* for the Dati of Siena, 1503 (no. 22) is by far the highest price paid by Don Fernando in London. Some of the incunabula appear cheap to modern eyes, but perhaps their value was in exactly the opposite proportion to post-incunabula in 1522 to what it is today:

⁵ E. Gordon Duff, "A Bookseller's Accounts, c.1510," *The Library*, n.s., VIII (1907), 256-266.

⁶ *Day-Book of John Dorne, Bookseller in Oxford, A.D. 1520*. (Edited by Falconer Madan.) *Collectanea* of the Oxford Historical Society, First Series (Oxford, 1885), 71-177.

⁷ H. S. Bennett, "Notes on English Retail Book-prices," 1480-1560. *The Library*, December, 1950, 172-178.

⁸ Wherever the catalogue gives notes on bindings, I have quoted these in Spanish at the end of each entry.

in other words, incunabula may have been regarded as second-hand, even out-of-date, in comparison with a brand new book of 1520!

It is unfortunately impracticable to attempt to work out the average price per sheet of the books bought by Don Fernando. Some seem to cost one-third, others one-seventh, of a penny per sheet, and we do not know enough about bindings. We have enough evidence in general, however, to add many interesting facts to the picture of the retail trade in London in 1522.

N.B. When stating the price paid in *penins*, Colón always added the note that the gold ducat was worth 54 *penins*. This seems approximately correct.

1. ADAM (de Ordine Fratrum Praedicatorum). *Summula pauperum quam nominant plures Iurisperitorum versus decretales*.
Paris, Georg Wolf & Iohannes (Philippi) de Cruzenach, April 20, 1494.
Quarto. 64 leaves. (4 penins)
Gesamtkatalog 217.
2. ALES, (Alexander de). *In tres libros Aristotelis de anima*.
Oxford, Theodoric Rood, October 11, 1481.
Folio. 240 leaves. (16 penins)
Gesamtkatalog 869. Duff 21. Bought 'así enquadernado'.
3. ALLIACO, (Petrus de). *Tractatus de anima*.
Paris, Jean Petit, November 27, 1505.
Quarto. 38 leaves. (2 penins)
4. ANIANUS. *Compotus nouissime ampliatus, etc.*
Paris, François Regnault, June 5, 1516.
Octavo. 67 (68?) leaves. (1 penin)
This book contains no note by F. Colón, but is agreed to be no. 1644 in his catalogue.
5. ARISTOTLE. *Textus paruorum naturalium, etc.* (With other tracts.)
Cologne, J. Koelhoff, 1491.
Folio. 152 leaves (Colombina catalogue says 132). (24 penins)
Gesamtkatalog 2428. B.M.C. I, p. 230 (IB.3629).
Bought 'así enquadernado'.

6. ——— *Ethica ad Nicomachum*.
 (Paris, André Bocard for Jean Petit, c.1496-1500.)
 Folio. 126 leaves. (16 penins)
 Gesamtkatalog 2377. Bought 'así encuadernado'.
7. *Ars bene moriendi*. (With other tracts.)
 Louvain, Johannes de Westfalia, (not before 1483).
 Folio. 170 leaves. (10 penins)
 Gesamtkatalog 5830. Bought 'así encuadernado'.
8. BEETZ, (Iohannes). *Commentum . . . super decem preceptis decalogi*.
 Louvain, Egidius vander Heerstraten, April 19, 1486.
 Folio. 298 leaves. (32 penins)
 Gesamtkatalog 3762. Bought 'así encuadernado'.
9. BELLEMERE, (Egidius de). *Tractatus de permutatione beneficiorum*. (With Johannes de Lignano, *Tractatus de pluralitate beneficiorum*, etc.) Paris, Jean Barbier for Durand Gerlier, (c.1510?).
 Octavo. 115 (116?) leaves. (2½ penins)
 Not in British Museum or Bibliothèque Nationale.
10. BONAVENTURA, *St. Vita Christi*.
 (Paris, Jean Petit, c.1510.)
 Octavo. 96 leaves, the last blank. 32 lines to a page. (4 penins)
 Proctor 8468, rejected as an incunable. (See Gesamtkatalog IV, 454.)
 Bought 'así encuadernado'.
11. ——— *Sententie sententiarum*.
 Paris, Jean Barbier, September 13, 1508.
 Octavo. 32 leaves. 35 lines to a page. (1¼ penins)
12. BURRUS, (Petrus). *Paeanes quinque festorum divae Virginis Mariae et quidam alii eiusdem hymni*.
 Paris, J. Badius, (1505?).
 Quarto. 110 leaves. (10 penins)
 Bibl. Nat. Paris, Rés. p.Yc.10, Rés. m.Yc.75 (both imperfect).
 Bought 'así encuadernado'.
13. CAESARIUS de Heisterbach. *Dialogus miraculorum*.
 Cologne, Johann Koelhoff, 1481.
 Folio. 268 leaves. (40 penins)
 Gesamtkatalog 5881.

14. CAPISTRANIS, (Johannes de). Tractatus de cupiditate.
(Cologne, Johann Koelhoff the Elder, 1482?)
Folio. 84 leaves, the first and last blank. (6 penins)
B.M.C. I, p. 225 (IB.3551).
15. CAPREOLUS, (Angelus). Libellus merito Stella nuncupatus.
Brescia, Giovanni Antonio Brixiano, 1511.
Quarto. 114 leaves. (6 penins)
'Conserva la cubierta primitiva de becerro con relieves'.
16. CASTROVOL, (Petrus de). Tractatus super psalmum Quicumque
vult nominatum qui alio nomine dicitur Simbolus Athanasii Episcopi
Alexandrie.
Toulouse, (Heinrich Mayer, not before 1484).
Quarto. 100 leaves, a-m⁸n⁴. (6 penins)
Stillwell C 230. Pellechet 3369. Reichling 461.
17. CLICHTOVEUS, (Jodocus). De laude monasticae religionis opusculum.
Paris, Henri Estienne, June 25, 1513.
Quarto. 50 leaves. 32 lines to a page. (4 penins)
B.M. 4061.c.6. Bought 'así enquadernado'.
18. COLET, (Joannes). Oratio habita ad clerum in conuocatione. Anno
M.D.XI.
London, Richard Pynson, (1511 or 1512).
Octavo (Colombina catalogue says quarto). 12 leaves. (1/2 penin)
S.T.C. 5545, recording one copy only (Bodleian).
19. COLLENUTIUS, (Pandulphus). Ad illustrissimum principem Herculem Estensem Ferrariensem Ducem . . . Apologus cui titulus Agenoria.
(Deventer, Jacobus de Breda, c.1499.)
Quarto. 12 leaves, the last blank. 35 lines to a page. (1/2 penin)
Gesamtkatalog 7161.
20. CROCUS, (Richardus). Orationes duae.
Paris, Simon Colinaeus for Damian Ichman, 1520.
Quarto. 28 leaves. a-c⁸d⁴. 28 lines to a page. (2 penins)
B.M. 1090.m.2 (imperfect).
21. CUCHARO, (Antonius de). Elucidarius Virginis. De Conceptione
incontaminata Virginis Gloriose.
Naples, Joannes Antonius de Caneto, May 24, 1507.

- Quarto. 328 leaves. 2 columns, 44 lines to a column. (24 penins)
Not in B.M. Bought 'así enquadernado'.
22. DATI, (Agostino). Opera.
Siena, Simeone di Nicolò dei Nardi, October 27, 1503.
Folio. 302 leaves. (64 penins)
Isaac 13948. B.M. 632.1.17. Bought 'así enquadernado'.
23. DESTRUCTIONES modorum significandi. (Attributed to Petrus de Alliaco.)
Quarto. 12 leaves, the last blank. 43 lines to a page. ($\frac{1}{2}$ penin)
Since this edition does not agree with any described in the *Gesamtkatalog*, it was probably printed after 1500. I have not identified it.
24. DIONYSIUS DE LEUWIS. De particulari iudicio Dei.
Delft, (Christian Snellaert), 1491.
Quarto. 60 leaves. (2 penins)
Gesamtkatalog 8415. 'Conserva la pasta primitiva'.
25. EPHREM, Saint. Libri de compunctione cordis, de beatitudine anime, etc.
(Paris, Jean Petit, c.1510?)
Octavo. 56 leaves. A-G^s. 32 lines to a page. (1 penin)
'Conserva la pasta primitiva'.
26. EPISTOLA. Ad Sanctiss. D. Adrianum in summum electum Pontificem epistola exhortatoria ut Romam ueniat.
(Cologne, Johannes Soter, 1522.)
Quarto. 10 leaves, the last blank. 27 lines to a page. (1 penin)
B.M., C.25.e.3(1). The newest book bought by Colón in London.
27. ERUDITORIUM penitenciale.
(Paris, Antoine Caillaut, c.1490.)
Quarto. 76 leaves. 25 lines to a page. (6 penins)
Gesamtkatalog 9391. B.M.C. VIII, p. 49 (IA.39480).
Bought 'así enquadernado'.
28. EXERCITIA utilissima pro horis soluendis et pro deuota communione sacramentali, etc.
Zwolle, Peter van Os, April 30, 1491.
Octavo. 62 leaves. 26 lines to a page. ($1\frac{1}{2}$ penins)
Gesamtkatalog 9495. 'Conserva la pasta primitiva'.

29. EXHORTATIONES nouiciorum. (By Dionysius Cartusianus.) Colloquium Iesu cum puero. Dyalogus Iesu et senis. Deventer, In platea episcopi (Richard Paffraet), 1491. Quarto. 30 leaves. 39 lines to a page. (1 penin)
Gesamtkatalog 8414.
30. FABER, (Jacobus). Ars moralis, in magna moralia Aristotelis introductoria. Paris, Guido Mercator, February 19, 1499/1500. Quarto. 14 leaves. 39 lines to a page. (1 penin)
Gesamtkatalog 9641. B.M.C. VIII, p. 68 (IA.39733).
31. FLORES Auicenne collecti super quinque Canonibus quos edidit in medicina, etc. Lyons, Gilbert de Villiers, for Bartholomaeus Trot, November 28, 1514. Octavo. 210 leaves. 36 lines to a page. (12 penins)
B.M. 544.b.4. Bought 'así enquadernado'.
32. GALENI Methodus medendi, vel de morbis curandis. Thoma Linacro Anglo interprete. Libri quatuordecim. (With 'Galenus de differentiis febrium libri duo: Laurentio Laurentiano Florentino interprete'.)
Paris, Desiderius Maheu, for Godefridus Hittorpius, June, 1519. Two books bound together. Folio. (i) 24 leaves, (ii) 208 leaves. 40 lines to a page. (28 penins)
B.M. 540.h.20(2); C.19.e.17 (on vellum); C.19.e.16 (on vellum); 539.h.5(2). Bought 'así enquadernado'.
33. HANERON, (Antonius). De multipotencia actiui regiminis dictionum. Gouda, Gerardus Leeu, 1481. Quarto. 94 leaves. 27 lines to a page. (4 penins)
M. E. Kronenberg, *Contributions to a New Edition of Campbell's Annales*, 907b, under the assumption that Campbell 678 is a part of this more complete edition. No other copy as described in the Colombina catalogue is known.
34. HERDERWICCENSIS, (Johannes). Ad laudem . . . Incipiunt Commentaria questiones et dubia . . . continentia cum textu Aristotelis in octo libros de physico auditu iuxta doctrinam . . . domini Alberti in Bursa Laurentiana florentissimi agripinensis gymnasii edita. (Cologne,) Henricus Quentell, May 26, 1497. Folio. 214 leaves. (20 penins)

Hain 16044 (under *VERSOR*, Johannes). Oates 764 (under *GERARDUS* de Harderwyck). Voullième, Cologne, 442.

35. *HERMONYMU*S, (Georgius). *Preclare dicta septem sapientum Grecie . . . Verax Aristotelis de virtutibus Interpretatio . . . Adiecto Pii pape de remedio amoris diuino tractatu*.
Paris, Johannes Gourmont, October, 1507.
Quarto. 8 leaves. (¼ penin)
36. *HISPANUS*, Alphonsus, Archbishop of Toledo. *Questiones super libris de anima*.
Florence, Nicolaus (Laurentii), July 26, 1477.
Folio. 118 leaves. 2 columns, 37 lines to a column. (8 penins)
B.M.C. VI, p. 626 (IB.27072).
37. *HISPANUS*, (Petrus). Nicolaus Tinctur super summulas Petri hispani cum insolubilibus et obligationibus.
(Reutlingen), Michael Greyff, June 11, 1486.
Folio. 222 leaves. 2 columns, 45 lines to a column. (24 penins)
B.M.C. II, p. 579 (IB.10765). Bought 'así enquadernado'.
38. *HORMAN*, (Guilelmus). *Vulgaria*.
London, Richard Pynson, 1519. (Colombina catalogue wrongly gives 1509.)
Quarto. 328 leaves. (16 penins)
S.T.C. 13811. B.M., C.33.i.5. Cf. Bennett, *op.cit.*, p. 177.
39. *ITALICUS DE LUGO*, (Peregrinus). *Principia seu introductiones fratris Peregrini . . . adipisci eiusdem doctoris doctrinam cupientibus*.
London, Richard Pynson, (1508?)
Quarto. 50 leaves, (the last blank?). a-g⁶h⁸. 40 lines to a page. (3 penins)
S.T.C. 16899. B.M., C.37.d.32.
40. *JOANNES CLIMACUS*, St. Scala paradisi.
(Paris, unidentified printer for Denis Roce, c.1500.)
Octavo. 154 leaves. 31 lines to a page. (6 penins)
B.M.C. VIII, p. 229 (IA.41284). Bought 'enquadernado'.
41. *LUDOLPHUS* de Saxonia. *Vita Ihesu*.
(Louvain, Johannes de Westfalia, c.1484.)
Folio. 62 leaves, the first blank. Double columns, 41 lines to a column. a-g⁸h⁶. (5 penins)
Polain 2540.
Don Fernando Colón wrote a note on the first (blank) leaf to

the effect that he read this book in Valladolid on August 22, 1523.

42. MARGARITA Facietiarum Alfonsi Aragonum Regis vafredicta Prou-
erbia Sigismundi et Friderici tertii, *etc.* (Edited by J. A. Muelich.)
Strassburg, Johannes Grüninger, 1509.
Quarto. 100 leaves. 33 lines to a page. (4 penins)
B.M. 12315.d.14.
43. MIDDELBURGO, (Paulus de). Epistola apologetica . . . ad doctores
Louanienses.
Louvain, Johannes de Westfalia, (c.1488.)
Quarto. 38 leaves, the last blank. 30 lines to a page. (2 penins)
Campbell 1364. Oates 3759.
44. MONALDUS, (Johannes). Summa perutilis atque aurea . . . in vtroque
iure tam ciuili quam canonico fundata, *etc.*
Lyons, Pierre Balet, after May 19, 1516 (date of privilege).
Octavo. 296 leaves. Double columns, 45 lines to a column.
(12 penins)
B.M. 5107.b.25. Bought 'enquadrado'.
45. MORTICELLARIUM. Quadragesimale et aduentuale de arte moriendi
quod Morticellarium aureum nuncupatur.
Antwerp, Gerard Leeu, February 20, 1488.
Quarto. 222 leaves. 35 lines to a page. (20 penins)
Campbell 1270. Oates 3906. Bought 'así enquadrado'.
46. NEAPOLITANUS, (Michael). Breuis et facilis via ad bonas artes.
(Grammaticae methodus.)
(Poitiers, Jean Bouyer & Stephanus de Gradibus.) April 21, 1490.
Quarto. 100 leaves. a-1^amn⁶. 2 columns, 38 lines to a column.
(8 penins)
Reichling 1815 (copy at Basle University Library).
Bought 'así enquadrado'.
47. NICHOLAUS, (Gilbertus). Tractatus de tribus ordinibus beatissime
virginis dei genitricis Marie.
(London), Richard Pynson, (c.1515?).
Octavo. 20 leaves, 29 lines to a page. (1 penin)
Not in S.T.C., and apparently unrecorded. See *Times Literary
Supplement*, April 6, 1956, p. 207. The author was Gilbert
Nicolai (1463-1532), a French Franciscan whose name in re-
ligion was Gabriel Maria.

48. OCKAM, (Guilhelmus). *Expositio aurea . . . super Artem veterem . . . cum questionibus Alberti parui de Saxonia.*
Bologna, Benedictus Hectoris, July 12, 1496.
Folio. 132 leaves. Double columns, 54 lines to a column. (18 penins)
Hain *11950. Stillwell o 9.
49. PACEUS, (Richardus). *Oratio . . . in pace nuperrime composita et foedere percusso: inter inuictissimum Angliae regem et Francorum regem christianissimum in aede diui Pauli Londini habita.*
London, Richard Pynson, December 5, 1518.
Quarto. (S.T.C. says duodecimo.) 10 leaves. A⁶B⁴. 24 lines to a page. (½ penin)
S.T.C. 19081^a. B.M., C.33.b.39.
50. PADUA, (Albertus de). *Incipit solemne opus expositionis Euangeliorum dominicalium totius anni.*
Venice, Adam de Rotweil & Andreas de Corona, December 25, 1476.
Folio. 250 leaves. Double columns, 43 (42) lines to a column. (53 penins)
B.M.C. V, p. 249 (IB.20582). Bought 'enquadrado'.
51. PANETIER, (Nicholaus le). *Grammatica.*
Louvain, Johannes de Westfalia, (c.1485).
Quarto. 50 leaves. 30 lines to a page. (2 penins)
Campbell 1353.
52. PETRA, (Arnoldus de). *Sermones super dominicam orationem, etc.*
Rouen, Richard Goupil for Radulphus Gaultier, March 9, 1512.
Quarto. 114 leaves. Double columns, 46 lines to a column. (10 penins)
Bought 'así enquadrado'.
53. POMERIUS, (Julianus). *Incipiunt prenosticata Juliani pomerii vrbis toletane episcopi de futuro seculo.*
(Alost, Thierry Martens, c.1487.)
Quarto. 30 leaves. 40 lines to a page. (2 penins)
Campbell 1435. Oates 3683.
54. PONTANUS, (Petruſ). *Incomparanda Genouefeum quam tutelarem totius Gallie dominam inficiari nemo potest.*
Paris, Guillaume le Rouge for Denis Roce, January 26, 1512.
Quarto. 148 leaves, the last blank. 24 lines to a page. (14 penins)
B.M., T.1516(10); 1069.b.11. Bought 'así enquadrado'.

55. PRATO FLORIDO, (Hugo de). *Sermones de Sanctis per totum annum*. Caen, Jean Mace, Michel Angier & Richard Mace, December 2, 1511.
 Quarto. 230 leaves. Double columns, 56 lines. (16 penins)
 L. Delisle, *Catalogue des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen*, 1903, tom. I, p. 307, no. 333. This edition is not in B.M. or Paris B.N., but there is an undated French edition in B.N. (Rés. D.80101) by the same publishers. Don Fernando Colón wrote in this volume: "Vigessima february 1523 in oppido ualladolit me prandente ac cenante inceptum fuit legi hoc uolumen expletum tamen in eodem oppido 22 maii eiusdem anni." (Somewhat indigestible reading at table!)
56. PRISCIANUS. *Ars grammatica, cum commento Johannis de Aingre*. (Unidentified edition.)
 Folio. 220 leaves, the first blank. Double columns, 44 lines. (16 penins)
 Bought 'así encuadernado'.
57. PROMPTUARIUM (Promptorium) paruulorum clericorum, quod apud nos Medulla grammaticæ appellatur.
 London, Wynkyn de Worde, September 5, 1516.
 Quarto. 70 leaves. Double columns, 57 lines to a column. (18 penins)
 S.T.C. 20438. B.M., G.7497(1). Cf. Bennett, *op.cit.*, p. 178 (John Dorne's sale at Oxford).
58. RADULPHUS, (Ricardus) (i.e. Richard Fitzralph, Bishop of Armagh). *Summa Domini Armacani in questionibus Armenorum nouiter impressa et correcta a magistro nostro Johanne Sudoris cum aliquibus sermonibus eiusdem de Christi dominio*.
 Paris, Jean Petit (after March 12, 1511, which is the date of the privilege on 6^b).
 Folio. 184 leaves. A; a-z n A-E⁶F⁴. Leaves 7-184 foliated 1—CLXXVII, with many errors. Double columns, 66 lines. (24 penins)
 B.M. 4373.k.1. Bought 'así encuadernado'.
59. REYNARDI, (Joannes). *Sermones quadragesimales de peregrinatione generis humani*.
 Lyons, Jean de la Place for Simon Vincent, October 15, 1518.
 Octavo. vi + 130 leaves, the last blank. Double columns, 41 lines. (4 penins)
 Paris, B.N. Rés. D. 50457(2).

60. ——— Sermones quadragesimales de infirmitatibus generis humani.
Octavo. Imprint as for the preceding. 84 leaves, the last blank.
(2 penins)
Paris, B.N. Rés. D. 50457(1).
61. RICARDUS, (Petrus). Pastoralis decalogus.
Paris, Jean Petit, 1510.
Octavo. 80 leaves. 32 lines to a page. (2 penins)
62. RIVO, (Radulphus de). Grammatica decani.
Louvain, Johannes de Westfalia, 1485.
Quarto. 152 leaves, the first and last blank. Double columns, 35
lines to a column. (12 penins)
Proctor, Additions to Campbell, 1477a (copy at All Souls Col-
lege, Oxford).
Bought 'enquaternado'.
63. ROELANS, (Cornelius). Tractatus egritudinum puerorum.
(Louvain, Jan Veldener, c.1484.)
Quarto. (Colombina catalogue says octavo.) 117 leaves, numbered
78-194 (evidently imperfect). (4 penins)
Campbell 1675, saying 'not less than 184 leaves'.
64. ROMANUS, (Aegidius). Theoremata de hostia consecrata.
Cologne, Johann Koelhoff, October 14, 1490.
Quarto. 92 leaves. 35 lines to a page. (4 penins)
B.M.C. I, p. 229 (IA.3620).
65. SALGUIS, (Raimundus de). Ars inueniendi themata, commenda-
tionesque et sermones ex corpore decreti in qualibet materia fa-
bricandi, etc.
(Cologne, Johann Koelhoff the Elder), 1482.
Folio. 56 leaves, the first and last blank. Double columns, 38/39 lines.
(4 penins)
Hain *14135. Proctor 1053 (Bodleian). Paris, B.N. Rés.
D. 2408.
66. SANCTO LAURENTIO, (Johannes de). Incipiunt postille euangelorum
dominicalium totius anni et aliquorum festorum.
Brussels, (Brothers of the Common Life), 1480.
Folio. 198 leaves, the last blank. Double columns, 40 lines.
(15 penins)
Hain 9410. B.M.C. IX (IB.49510).
67. SERMONES. Incipiunt sermones compositi super particulis antiphone

Salve regina magno et ingenio et diligentia ad honorem virginis matris Marie . . . ordinati, *etc.*

Alost, Thierry Martens, July 9, 1487.

Quarto. 76 leaves. a-m⁶n⁴. 40 lines to a page. (4 penins)

B.M.C. IX (IA.49022 and 49023).

68. SERMONES. Sermones vie et veritatis super epistolas et euangelia de tempore per totum annum, *etc.* (By Lucas de Padua.)

(Cologne, Johann Koelhoff), sabato ante dominicam Esto mihi (February 8), 1483.

Folio. 294 leaves. Double columns, 41 lines. (28 penins)

Hain 10253. Polain 2520 (copy at Bruges).

Bought 'enquadrado'.

69. SOCCUS. Incipiunt sermones notabiles valde: et multum formales fratris Socci ordinis Cisterciensis, *etc.*

Strassburg, Johannes Grüninger, April 13, 1484.

Folio. 192 leaves, the first blank. Double columns, 48 lines.

(16 penins)

Hain *14826. B.M.C. I, p. 102 (IB.1363). Bought 'enquadrado'.

70. TARDINEL, (Johannes). Predicamenta.

Paris, Jean Lambert for Jean Petit, August 27, 1506.

Quarto. 90 leaves. Double columns, 47 lines to a column.

(6 penins)

71. TRACTATUS obligationum. (By Albertus de Saxonia.) *End*: Et hec de arte obligatoria secundum de saxoniam sufficient.

(Lyons, Janon Carcain, c.1493.)

Quarto. 14 leaves, the last blank. Double columns, 42 lines to a column. (1 penin)

Gesamtkatalog 786 (copies at Besançon and Schlettstadt).

72. TRACTATUS (Hic modicus) in dialogi morem . . . uberem utilemque affert materiam profecto tradit Absolutionis sacramentalis formam variarum excommunicationum species recitat, *etc.*

Antwerp, Nicolaus de Grave, 1515.

Quarto. 10 leaves. 37 lines to a page. (1½ penin)

Nijhoff-Kronenberg 709 (copy at Groningen).

73. USINGEN, (Bartholomaeus). Paruulus philosophie naturalis. Figuralis interpretatio in Epitoma philosophie naturalis in . . . Erffurdiensi gymnasio . . . concinnata, *etc.*

- Basle, Jacobus de Pforzheim, December 4, 1511.
 Quarto. 142 leaves, the last blank. 44 lines to a page. (9 penins)
 B.M., 520.c.12(2). Bought 'así enquadernado'.
74. VARENIUS, (Alanus). In Canticum canticorum Homiliae quindecim, *etc.*
 Paris, Henri Estienne, May 21, 1515.
 Quarto. 222 leaves. 41 lines to a page. (18 penins)
 B.M. 852.k.13. Bought 'así enquadernado'.
75. VERSOR, (Johannes). Questiones librorum de anima.
 Metz, Caspar Hochfeder, 1501.
 Quarto. 244 leaves, the last blank. 39 lines to a page. (8 penins)
76. VIA salutis edita in subsidium presbiterorum. (By Armando de Auzeria.)
 Lyons, Guillaume Balsarin, November 28, 1498.
 Quarto. 164 leaves. A⁴a-v⁸. 30 lines to a page. (10 penins)
 Reichling 1652 (copy at Padua University Inc. 285).
 Bought 'enquadernado'.
77. WELLENDARFFER, (Virgilius). Valelogium pro valetate quod inscribitur: Octoginta Isocratis : Regalia : moralia : precepta complectitur, *etc.* (With "Eleutherologium", "Encenilogium" and "Annotatio peregrina").
 Leipzig, Wolfgang Monacensis, 1516.
 Quarto. 50 + 10 + 14 + 6 leaves, each part with separate titles. (4 penins)
 B.M. IA.11941(4).
78. WHITTINTON, (Robert). *Vulgaria Roberti . . . et de institutione grammaticulorum opusculum: libello suo de concinnitate Grammatices accomodatum.*
 London, Wynkyn de Worde, 1521.
 Quarto. 48 leaves. A-H^{4.8}. (16 penins)
 S.T.C. 25572. B.M., C.40.e.19. 'Comprose enquadernado'.
 The Colombina catalogue records nine books by Whittinton, but this (the last) is the only one which bears a note of provenance or price, and it is not clear whether they were all bought in London.
79. WOESTINE, (Ambrosius de). *Tractatus fratris Ambrosii de woestine cum commento eiusdem, etc.*
 Paris, Nicolaus de la Barre, April 10, 1500.

Octavo. 96 leaves, the last blank. a-m⁸. 37 lines to a page. (3 penins)

Pellechet 603 (copies at Paris B.N. and Le Mans).

'Conserva la pasta primitiva, de piel con relieve'.

80. ZOEMEREN, (Henricus de). Epithoma in primam partem Dialogi G. Ockam.

Louvain, Johannes de Westfalia, 1481.

Folio. 132 leaves, the first and last blank. 41 lines to a page.

(8 penins)

Campbell 914. See John Dorne, p. 142: this book was valued by Thomas Hunt at Oxford in 1483 at 3/8.

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Henry Stevens Sweeps the States

By WYMAN W. PARKER

HENRY Stevens of Vermont in two years in London established himself as a major bookdealer. He had left Boston in 1845, an obscure youth seeking to make a living through buying and selling books. He returned to America in October 1847 an important and influential rare-book dealer, and the agent of the largest British library with orders to buy a copy of every American book not then in the British Museum. With him came the flavor and romance of the greatest of English marts, where books were fought over by illustrious patrons. He knew the continental libraries and bookstores, while his customers were scholars, diplomats, and famous librarians. He brought with him in six cases nearly \$5,000 worth of books relating to America, primarily for the choice of his two rich American customers, James Lenox and John Carter Brown. It must have been a great satisfaction for him to come back so soon, securely established in his chosen trade.

Stevens had previously spent only a year and a half in Boston, working feverishly to make himself known among the gentlemen who were developing the country's taste in literary and historical publications. After graduation from Yale, Stevens had become acquainted with the New England historians Sparks, Bancroft, and Parkman. These men and certain Boston collectors such as Livermore, Dowse, and Deane, were acutely aware of the need in the United States of more historical books relating to America, and they were either building personal libraries or were actively encouraging the collection of these materials by Harvard and the Historical Societies of the state. Stevens took

the measure of these great historians and recognized that the writing of American history was safe in their hands, where it became an inspired if not a dedicated mission. While he could supply them with books to advantage, he realized that he could not compete in such historical writing and therefore allowed his projected history of the French and Indian War to lapse.

His first act upon reaching the States was to visit his mother and father in Barnet, Vermont. Then he came back through Boston to go over with John Carter Brown these books he had brought from abroad. In November he went on to New York, putting up, as befitted his new status, at the Astor House on lower Broadway. This was his headquarters for the next ten months until his departure for London. The day after he arrived in New York, he went by appointment to meet for the first time his other chief client, James Lenox. Lenox shunned publicity, which only whetted the curiosity of gossips who frequented Bartlett & Welford's bookshop at #7, The Astor House. As cordial as Lenox was in showing Stevens his new house, art gallery, and library, Stevens was in no doubt as to Lenox's personal reserve and the privilege accorded him of a visit to this sequestered house and already notable book collection. He wisely resolved to keep to himself their business affairs. "Mr. Lenox and I stood on a level, as far as I could see, he a buyer and I a seller; he collecting to shelve, I collecting to disperse—one's calling necessary to the other's. If there were any real difference of rank, it is not likely either of us ever saw or thought of it."¹

The reception given Stevens in New York pleased him. There he was quite at ease discussing the great auctions and rarest of books with the New York dealers. He was popular with the bookmen, and found that he had chosen well the type of book that he had brought with him from London and the Continent. He

¹ H. Stevens, *Recollections of James Lenox and the Formation of His Library* (New York, 1951), p. 103.

wrote Obadiah Rich, the American bookdealer in London, of his success: "I am dogged to death, everybody is teasing me for books relating to America, but I must go through my customers in regular order. The demand is certainly increasing and I think there will be more Browns & more Lenoxes next year—but where will they find more Riches & more Stevens to find the books for them?"² Here he came close, so early, to the realization of his greatest asset, for he could find the books, and he would be remembered chiefly for this ability.

Stevens returned again to Boston before Christmas 1847, and pleased John Carter Brown by asking him if Jared Sparks might see the copy of the Ternaux³ catalogue checked with Brown's holdings. John Carter Brown, who had just purchased over \$700 worth of Stevens' recent importations, expressed satisfaction with his collection when sending his marked Ternaux bibliography to Stevens:

... You expressed a wish to shew it to Mr. Sparks—if so, do as you please, tho' after seeing his own & the Collection at Cambridge, my humble Catalogue must seem a *bagatelle*. . . . By my check marks on Ternaux, you will at once see that I already have most of the *important & rare* works which he has in his Cat^e tho' there are a great many others of not so much moment & *different* Editions of works already marked, which I have not got—many of them it would be well for me to be possessed of, more for the purpose of "*completing my assortment*" as a Grocer would say, than for any thing else. So if you meet with any of these latter & they are to be had VERY CHEAP remember me.⁴

Already John Carter Brown was aware of Lenox as a strong competitor in his field, for he had forwarded to Lenox those cases of books which Stevens had first sent to him for examination. He grudgingly allowed to Stevens that "Having three

² H. Stevens to Obadiah Rich, Nov. 30, 1847. Letterbooks, Clements Library.

³ H. Ternaux, *Bibliothèque Americaine; ou Catalogue des Ouvrages relatifs a l'Amérique* (Paris, 1837).

⁴ J. C. Brown to Henry Stevens, Dec. 23, 1847. Henry Stevens Papers, Clements Library.

copies of 'The Battelle' I can relinquish one of them to Mr. L. if he particularly desires it."⁵

Stevens went on to Washington in January 1848 with his cases of books for Force to look over, trusting that Force and then the Library of Congress would purchase \$2,500 worth. Stevens bought through Force for \$1,073 every United States Government document published to that date, all undoubtedly for the British Museum. Force, in turn, made his heaviest investment in books from Stevens, buying \$1,400 worth. Henry had received a smart dressing-down from Force in the spring of 1845 because of laxity concerning a dishonored draft. Thereafter, Force had neglected to answer Stevens' urgent letters from London. Now, three years later, it must have been a particular pleasure for Stevens again to do business on friendly terms with his earliest patron. Stevens, gratified to oblige Force by making an advance upon the Lenox fortress with its newly acquired Gutenberg Bible, thus informed Force of his success: "Mr. Lenox tells me that you may at any time see his Mazarin Bible when you and he are in town—He made not the slightest objection when I asked him—but rather seemed pleased at the request."⁶

After selling some of the items he had brought from abroad to other "big" collectors like Senator Henry C. Murphy of Long Island, Stevens put the remainder of his stock up for auction at George H. Gurley's, 304 Broadway, New York. The sale of 599 lots on April 24, 1848, was devoted entirely to Stevens' books. He reported with satisfaction to Force that "My sale went off tolerably well. Some of the books went very high and others extremely low; there was little competition."⁷ It was in

⁵ Brown to Stevens, Dec. 2, 1847. Clements Library. "The Battelle" is P. Vincent's *A True Relation of the Late Battell fought in New England between the English, and the Salvages* (London, 1637).

⁶ H. Stevens to Peter Force, May 1, 1848. Force Papers, Library of Congress. This was the first Gutenberg Bible to cross the Atlantic. Lenox bought it in 1847 for the then "mad" price of \$2,500.

⁷ *Ibid.*

these auction rooms that Stevens had first met John Carter Brown in 1844. A year later Stevens' first try at having his own books auctioned was unfortunate in that it led to Stevens' note being returned unpaid to Force. At that time Henry forswore any further dealings with auction houses, but this 1848 auction is evidence of his quick maturity in mastering a technique essential to great booksellers.

In his activity of buying for the British Museum while in America Stevens made several large purchases, intending to sell off the residue in the United States. He bought all the duplicate newspapers from the New-York Historical Society in February and attempted to dispose of some of them to Force, who had earlier expressed interest in them to the Society's librarian, George H. Moore.⁸

Henry was unable to dispose of a major portion of his father's library that he claimed to have bought en route to Montreal and Quebec in the fall of 1847. This he offered to the State of Vermont for \$2,500, without much hope of its being taken. After the state refused to purchase it, he offered it to the Library of Congress as a collection comprising the laws of Vermont and Journals of the General Assembly of Vermont from 1779, with about 500 volumes of Vermont newspapers from 1783. Again he was disappointed, and the library remained in the possession of Henry Stevens, Senior, who later loaned it to the State of Vermont. In Montpelier, it was destroyed in the State House fire in 1857. The senior Stevens was reimbursed by the State, and so it is probable that his son was acting as agent in trying to dispose of this collection to best advantage.

Henry Stevens spent the first part of 1848 profitably in searching for books and buyers along the Atlantic seaboard. When in

⁸ In 1886, Henry dedicated his *Recollections* . . . to George H. Moore, recalling that Peter Force had brought them together in 1840. George Moore at the time of Stevens' visit to New York was assistant to his father in the Historical Society. In 1850, he succeeded him to the post of librarian. This position Moore held with distinction from 1850 to 1876 when he resigned to devote full time to his duties as superintendent of the newly established Lenox Library.

New Haven he became acquainted with William F. Poole, then an undergraduate at Yale. As librarian of the society library, Brothers in Unity, Poole held the position that Henry while a student at Yale had occupied earlier. Poole had made an index of the articles in the periodicals in his charge to make them more useful. Stevens, recognizing the utility of this guide, advised Poole to offer it to Putnam, Stevens' former associate in London, who was then beginning his very successful career as a New York publisher. Putnam printed an edition of 500 copies which sold chiefly to college libraries and rapidly went out of print. Poole was at the threshold of a notable career as librarian. He and Stevens, sharing mutual interests, kept in touch with each other over the years and were able to aid one another in various enterprises. In a later edition, the Periodical Guide evolved into the famous *Poole's Index*, a basic reference tool for nineteenth-century literature.

In the spring of 1848, Stevens made his most spectacular purchase in America: the library of George Washington. This was a bold and enterprising venture that gave him much publicity. It even aroused patriotic comment in non-bookish circles because of his announced intention of taking it out of the country for the British Museum. George Washington had bequeathed his library to his favorite nephew, Bushrod Washington. The inventory taken at the time of the first President's death shows that it numbered 844 volumes exclusive of pamphlets, many of which contained his famous engraved bookplate. This inventory of Washington's books, drawn up by the first appraisers of his property, was deposited with his will and the executors' accounts at the Fairfax Court House. Although the original will still exists there, the inventory disappeared when Federal troops occupied Fairfax. Fortunately, this inventory had been copied prior to the Civil War by John A. Washington and had been printed in Edward Everett's *The Life of George Washington* (New

York, 1860). It reveals a gentleman's library of literature and history with strong holdings in United States politics and military science. There were more books on law and agriculture than would be expected in the average gentleman's collection. Many of the books were presentation copies, and a surprising number were autographed "G. Washington" on the upper right title page or fly-leaf. Bushrod Washington added many books to this collection during his residence at Mount Vernon, and had nearly doubled the size of the collection by the time of his death in 1829. He in turn willed the books to his two nephews: George C. Washington received those books in the study numbering 658 volumes and 1,125 pamphlets, while John A. Washington got the 468 volumes normally shelved in a handsome bookcase in the dining room.

Judge Bushrod Washington had given Jared Sparks access to the Washington books and manuscripts at Mount Vernon for his research in preparing *The Writings of George Washington* (12 v., Boston, 1834-37). Sparks had been consulted in behalf of a House Committee of Congress by Edward Everett, before the purchase of the Washington manuscripts for \$25,000 by Act of Congress in 1834. Sparks probably informed Stevens that George C. Washington might part with his share of his great-uncle's library. Stevens bought this portion of the Washington Library for \$3,000, paying the last installment of \$1,000 on April 20, 1848. The collection which Stevens purchased consisted of 460 volumes and about 750 pamphlets, of which 359 volumes and about 450 pamphlets came from the original George Washington Library. Of these, 137 contained the famous engraved Washington bookplate.

The history of the Washington bookplate, deduced to be of American origin because of its incorrect heraldry, is shrouded in mystery. It is generally assumed to have been made in America sometime between the years 1777 and 1781. No entry has been

found in the careful accounts kept by Washington which might refer to this transaction. The copperplate was in the hands of George Livermore at one time, and restrikes from it are known but can usually be detected by the quality of the paper. The story is told that a man who once owned it had so many copies made that he feared they would become too common if the plate were ever again printed. Therefore he is reputed to have cut the copper in pieces and thrown them in the Schuylkill River. The truth is that its owner, William Alexander Smith, presented it to the Metropolitan Museum of New York in 1907. The bookplate has often been reproduced for illustrative purposes, and once apparently it was counterfeited for the purpose of increasing the value of a special lot of books.⁹ Many of these forgeries were inserted in a collection of nearly 200 books advertised as coming from General Washington's Library sold at auction in Washington, March 9, 1863, by W. L. Wall & Co. However, the forged engraving was poorly executed, and it was dramatically denounced as fraudulent in the auction room by Dr. William F. Poole, then librarian of the Boston Athenæum. These books then went at low prices, bringing only their value as books, not having the aura of the possessions of a great patriot.

Henry Stevens brought the Washington collection to New York and stored it in the Merchants Exchange Building, later the Sub-treasury, in Wall Street. There Daniel Coit Gilman, at leisure before starting to attend Yale, saw the books and became interested in them. He offered and was allowed because of his clear and rapid handwriting to make a card catalogue of the volumes for Stevens.¹⁰

⁹ C. D. Allen, *American Book-Plates* (New York, 1894), pp. 90-95, gives illustrations of both the spurious and the correct impressions.

¹⁰ This catalogue is among the Gilman Papers in the Johns Hopkins Library. Gilman later was instrumental in organizing and editing *Norton's Literary Gazette*, one of the best critical papers of the time. He was assistant librarian at Yale from 1856 to 1865, making many progressive reforms there before going to his most distinguished post of President of Johns Hopkins. Although their paths crossed infrequently, he and Stevens followed each other's careers with interest.

Stevens offered three hundred books of this collection containing Washington's autograph to Lenox, who declined the honor. Then he gave the first refusal of the collection to the British Museum. In the meantime a furor was raised, particularly in Boston, over Stevens' intention of sending such personal relics of a national hero out of the country. Stevens quoted a price of \$7,500 for the books to a group of Boston gentlemen, if the British Museum did not take them. Obadiah Rich, informed by Stevens, foretold the British reaction: "Your purchase of the Washington Library was a lucky hit certainly, but I think that it would sell to greater advantage in the U. S. than here [London]. The [British] Museum will certainly not buy them merely because they belonged to Washington."¹¹ Later Rich pointed out the error in buying "association" books: "You will find eventually that you have committed a great mistake in purchasing the so-called Washington Library: as unless there are books of really intrinsic value, among them, you will get nothing for them here.—If you have not already ship'd them, I recommend you most sincerely to dispose of them in the only place where they would be properly valued, viz. in Boston or New York &c."¹²

There was enough comment about this library in Washington to cause the Senate (on the motion of the Honorable John H. Clarke from Rhode Island) to direct the Committee on the Library of Congress to ascertain from the owner of the Washington library whether it was for sale, the number and value of the books, and at what price they might be purchased. The Committee apparently made no attempt to follow up this instruction, for nothing appears to have been done about getting the books for the national library. Any such move would have been useless, due to the speed with which Stevens had to sell the collection to realize cash. His reaction to the Senate motion was immediately

¹¹ O. Rich to Henry Stevens, April 25, 1848, in Stevens, *Recollections* . . . , p. 86.

¹² O. Rich to Henry Stevens, June 1, 1848, in Stevens, *Recollections* . . . , p. 86.

defensive: "I see that Mr. Clarke has introduced a resolution into the Senate respecting the Library—& some of my friends have suggested the idea that it may be detained there [Washington] on that account, but of course the Committee on the Library have no right to detain or even to look at it."¹⁸

Sparks naturally wished to keep the library in the United States. He was joined in an attempt to save the library for America by George Livermore, a bibliophile friend and customer of Stevens, and by Andrews Norton and his son Charles Eliot Norton, both scholars. Stevens agreed to lower his price to \$5,000, since the fund was to be raised by \$50 subscriptions. Circulars dated May 25th were circulated signed by Sparks and Livermore and listing C. E. Norton as treasurer. A subscription book was placed in the Boston offices of the American Insurance Company. Stevens gave them until May 31st, but the total raised was only \$3,250. Stevens was in a quandary, as he had already received and used some money from this fund to satisfy his creditors. Obadiah Rich, in charge of Stevens' affairs in London, was having a difficult time attempting to bolster Henry's credit there. In addition to the binder James Hayday, the agents Payne and Foss and some of the continental dealers had bills long overdue. The German dealer Asher was also angry at not getting payment for books which Stevens had bought a year before to bring to the States. Asher's rage was mollified in part by learning that the Museum had delayed most of the year in settling its account with Stevens. Therefore, nearly a month after his deadline, Stevens reluctantly allowed this group of public-spirited Bostonians to have the collection. Seventy-seven citizens contributed. The literary group predominated, being particularly concerned about the probable loss of these treasures. There was also a feeling that the cultural reputation of Boston was involved. On the list of contributors are found such Boston literary leaders

¹⁸ H. Stevens to Peter Force, May 4, 1848. Force Papers, Library of Congress.

as Edward Everett, George Ticknor, Jared Sparks, J. Ingersoll Bowditch, Andrews and Charles E. Norton, and Samuel and Abbott Lawrence. Daniel Webster also pledged to this fund, but although his name usually appears in the list of contributors he never made any payment.

The Boston Athenæum made a bid for custody of the collection by subscribing \$500 toward this end. When the contributing citizens voted, a majority of the subscribers being Proprietors of the Boston Athenæum, they decided to place the Washington Library permanently there. In retrospect, it seemed to Charles Eliot Norton that: "The acquisition of the books by the Athenæum was, finally, in largest measure due to the efforts of the late George Livermore, one of the most public-spirited, generous and modest of men."¹⁴ This destination was a surprise to Stevens, for he had presumed that the collection would go to Harvard. His attitude even thirty years later was testy, revealing the particular tension of his close financing: "I sold the collection to a parcel of Bostonians for \$5,000, but after passing that old Boston hat round for two or three months for \$50 subscriptions, only \$3,250 could be raised, and therefore, as I had used a few hundred dollars of the money advanced to me by the promoters and was in a tight place, I was compelled to subscribe the rest myself to make up the amount of the purchase."¹⁵ Before the transaction was completed he reserved for himself five volumes with the best autographs. Against the wishes of the purchasers who desired to prevent the dispersal of any of Washington's books, he sold two with the choicest signatures to Mr. Lenox for \$350. The remaining three Washington volumes he presented to the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the Royal Library of Berlin.

Stevens was "vexed & mortified by the way I was for want of

¹⁴ Boston Athenæum, *A Catalogue of the Washington Collection in the Boston Athenæum* (Cambridge, 1897), p. viii.

¹⁵ H. Stevens, *Recollections . . .*, pp. 82-83.

funds compelled to part with the Washington Library for little more than half the price originally agreed for.”¹⁶ He had to raise the cash, for most of his working capital was tied up in this venture. However, the Athenæum Trustees were delighted with their bargain. Their Committee on the Library reported with satisfaction in 1849 that the Washington books “would be regarded even in Europe as curiosities of great interest and value, and would command prices which might seem incredible to one unacquainted with sums given for objects associated with the memory of highly distinguished men.”¹⁷

Another Washington project in the related field of art that Stevens was promoting during his American visit did not mature as he had hoped. Knowing Mr. Lenox’s interest in acquiring a picture collection, Henry had purchased early in 1847 in London a full-length painting of Washington reputed to be by Gilbert Stuart. However, when he brought it to New York, he could not interest Lenox at his low price of \$1,000. When asked why he refused to buy it, Lenox replied according to Stevens: “It is because it is *yours*, and you cannot give its pedigree. You do not profess to be a connoisseur in portraits, and your price is too low for a genuine Stuart.”¹⁸ Henry lacked the aplomb of a Duveen in art, although he could readily and rightfully assume such supreme confidence in regard to printed Americana. He admitted defeat and took the painting back to London, where he sold it for £150 to Russell Sturgis, an American with Baring Brothers, after it had been authenticated as a genuine Stuart by C. R. Leslie. R. A. Stevens later ruefully recounted that Leslie then told him: “My dear sir, had you asked £500 for it you would no doubt

¹⁶ H. Stevens to the Hubbard Brothers, Jan. 4, 1856. Letterbooks, Clements Library. It was, in fact, a low price for the collection even for those days, according to Dr. Rosenbach, who in 1936 purchased at the record price of \$9,800 Washington’s own copy of his published *Official Letters to the Honorable American Congress* (2 v., 1795).

¹⁷ Boston Athenæum, *A Catalogue of the Washington Collection . . .*, p. viii.

¹⁸ H. Stevens, *Recollections . . .*, p. 120.

have sold it readily. Collectors are suspicious of low prices.”¹⁹ This was one of his several unsuccessful ventures into the field of art that Stevens deplored. Although he never actually lost money on such purchases, he always regretted such excursions, commenting mildly: “In books I found myself more of an authority than in painting, sculpture, antiquities, etc.”²⁰

Satisfied with his year in America of mending fences with his clients and his many friends in the library field, Stevens sailed back to London on September 27, 1848. It had been a spectacular year, one of large dimensions, during which he had caused much comment by his bold purchase of a portion of our first President's personal library. While in New York he had frequently visited his best prospect, James Lenox, and had established himself in Lenox's good graces to such an extent that he had pledged Lenox first choice of all new acquisitions of Americana. While such an agreement was binding only upon Stevens, it nevertheless implied a continued interest if not obligation to trade with Stevens upon Lenox's part. This led to the many large and valuable purchases over the next decade which made such a treasure hoard of the Lenox Library, now a substantial part of the Reference Division of the New York Public Library.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 121. Leslie identified it as “the picture painted by Stuart for a former Lord Lansdowne” (*Ibid.*, p. 122).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

The Clarification of Some Obscurities Surrounding the Imprisonment of Richard Grafton in 1541 and in 1543

By EDMUND G. HAMANN

RICHARD Grafton, a significant printer in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII, was imprisoned shortly after 1540 on suspicion of aiding the dissemination of religious doctrines not conforming to those of the newly established Church of England. This is the information given in the *Actes and Monuments* of John Foxe. A primary source, the records of the Privy Council, reveals that he was jailed on two different occasions, once in 1541 and again in 1543. The question raised is this: to which of the dates does Foxe's account refer? It must be determined further whether or not this account contains enough substantial truth to serve as an illumination of some obscurities surrounding the two imprisonments of Grafton. Scholars have been inconsistent in their conclusions, suggesting that the narrative account coincides with one date or the other or that it is altogether misleading. The purpose of this study is to follow up these inconsistencies, to discover reasons for divergencies of opinion, and to formulate a hypothesis resolving the dispute.

Grafton first became involved in the printing business as a financial sponsor and as supervisor of the printing of the "Matthew Bible," published in 1537. The text was based on the famous, controversial English translation of the New Testament by William Tyndale and portions of the 1537 edition of the "Coverdale Bible." The latter was a more conservative but far

less scholarly work than the former, which had been translated from the Greek, but it was an important steppingstone, for without it most of the Old Testament would have been unavailable in English to the editors of the Matthew Bible. The Matthew Bible was supported by Henry's chief minister, Thomas Cromwell, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer. In his campaign to eradicate Roman influences in the Church of England, Cromwell counted a vernacular Bible shorn of references to the apostolic succession among his strongest weapons. There was, however, the other face of the coin. Henry VIII, while striving to extinguish papal authority in England, entertained no thought of changing the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith. For this reason the publication of the Matthew Bible was a dangerous enterprise: the New Testament portion was obviously only a modification of Tyndale's translation, which had been condemned for heretical deviations from the traditional doctrines of the Church. Realizing that endorsing this Bible had been an indiscreet move, offending the king's religious conservatism and increasing the ire of the conservative members of the clergy, Cromwell sought to minimize the effect of the license granted to print the Matthew Bible and resolved to have published a more orthodox rendition of the Scriptures, which would become the sole authorized version in England.¹

The "Great Bible" was first published in April, 1539, and ran through seven editions in a little more than two years. Miles Coverdale was its editor, Grafton and his partner, Edward Whitchurch, its publishers.² However, Cromwell's success in advancing the vernacular Bible at the expense of the traditional Latin Vulgate was tempered by the passage of the "Act of Six

¹ Henry Guppy, *A Brief Sketch of the History of the Transmission of the Bible down to the Revised English Version of 1881-1895* (Manchester, University Press, 1936), p. 48.

² Grafton and Whitchurch became the Bible's printers only after the Paris Inquisition halted operations in France, compelling the Englishmen to complete the Bible in their own country. Harold R. Willoughby, *The First Authorized English Bible and the Cranmer Preface* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 3.

Articles" in 1539. A strong assertion of orthodox doctrines clarifying and consolidating existing laws against heresy,³ the Six Articles Act was a severe setback to the reformers, and it, nearly coinciding with a serious diplomatic reversal, sounded the knell of Cromwell's career. Likewise, Grafton's singularly favorable position in the printing business was about to be lost.

The collapse of Thomas Cromwell's fortunes in April 1540 was as spectacular as had been his rise to power. His failure to achieve a satisfactory alliance with the Duchy of Cleves in an effort to counterbalance the Catholic allies on the continent made Cromwell fatally vulnerable to the libels of his enemies. The accusations heaped upon him at his attainder show how much hated he was by the conservative party. The act of condemnation is a document of Cromwell's guilt as imagined by his foes.⁴ Among the many crimes of which he was accused there are several revealing the opposition of the staunch Catholics to the English Bible. He was declared to be "a detestable heretic [having] dispersed into all shires false and erroneous books . . ." tending to discredit the sacrament of the altar and other articles of religion pronounced by the king, and to have affirmed the translations of the Bible, though "the report made by the translator thereof has been that the matter was expressedly against the sacrament of the altar." Here Cromwell, by encouraging a vernacular Bible not conforming to the accepted Latin version, was accused of violating the first and most important part of the Six Articles Act,⁵ which is a confirmation of the doctrine of transubstantiation, i.e., the body and blood of Christ are really pres-

³ Joseph R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents, A.D. 1485-1603, with an Historical Commentary* (Cambridge, University Press, 1922), p. 95.

⁴ 32 Henry VIII, c.60. Great Britain, Public Records Office, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, edited by J. S. Brewer and others (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1862-1910), XV, 216. Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, IV, 415, is given as the source. This act is not in the *Statutes of the Realm*.

⁵ 31 Henry VIII, c.14. Great Britain, *Statutes of the Realm*, Henry VIII (1509-1545), III, 739-743.

ent in the bread and wine proffered at the altar, a tenet disavowed by Protestants. The act states that anyone denying this article of faith is automatically considered to be a heretic; hence, conviction of this crime alone was enough to have Cromwell executed.

Cromwell's enemies had the satisfaction of denying him the benefit of a just trial, and on July 29 he was executed. This event was followed by an exodus from England of many prominent figures in the cause for religious reform, among whom was Coverdale, the Great Bible's editor, who was not to return until Edward's accession to the throne. Nor did Grafton escape the consequences of his patron's ruin.

The only narrative account extant of the printer's fate is contained in John Foxe's voluminous martyrology, *Actes and Monuments*:

After this [the printing of the Great Bible], the bishops bringing their purpose to passe, brought the Lord Cromwell out of fauour, and shortly to his death: and not long after, great complaint was made to the king of the translation of the Bible, and of the preface of the same, and then was the sale of the Bible commaunded to be stayed, the B[ishop] promising to amend and correct it, but neuer performing the same: Then Grafton was called, and first charged with the printing of Mathewes Bible, but he being feareful of trouble, made excuses for himselfe in all things. Then was he examined of the great Bible, and what notes he was purposed to make. To which he aunswered, that he knewe none. For his purpose was to haue retayned learned men to haue made the notes, but when he perceyued the kynges maiestie, and his Clergye not willing to haue any, he proceded no further. But for al these excuses, Grafton was sent to the Fleet, and there remayned vi weekes, and before he came out, was bound in CCC li [300 pounds]⁶ that he should neither sell nor im-

⁶ Gustave L. Constant, in *The Reformation in England: I. The English Schism; Henry VIII (1509-1547)*, translated by R. E. Scantlebury (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1934), p. 382, says he was given six months' imprisonment and fined three hundred pounds, an obvious slip since he gives J. Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, Chapter 21, as his source, in which Foxe's account is given. J. Pratt believes that Grafton's bond was more likely to have been no more than one hundred pounds, the said sum being equivalent to 150 pounds (at the time Pratt made

print, or cause to be imprinted any moe Bibles, vntill the king and the clergy should agree vpon a translation. And thus was the Bible at that time stayed, during the raigne of Kyng Henry the viii.⁷

There are two pieces of documentary evidence to which Foxe's account may be related. On January 4, 1541, Grafton was committed to the Fleet for printing "a sedicious epistle of Melanctons. . . to remayn during the kings pleasure."⁸ He had been summoned to appear before the Privy Council along with Richard Bankes, Thomas Smyth and William Gray.⁹ Bankes, whose imprint had been employed by Grafton to cover his illegal venture, declared his innocence and accused Grafton, who confessed to this forgery.¹⁰ As the case unfolded, the Council discovered one Thomas Walpole as the man responsible for the "setting forth" of Melanchthon's epistle and a certain Thomas Cottisford as a recipient of it.¹¹ The printing of the epistle was a seditious offense, for the gist of it was a violent reproval of the Act of Six Articles.¹² Added to Grafton's troubles was the disclosure of his activities in league with Smyth and Gray, who were charged with printing invectives in ballad form against each other. Just what Grafton did in connection with these two men is not entirely clear, but the Privy Council accused him of printing ballads defending the late Thomas Cromwell (presumably composed by

the comment, ca. 1877). John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of John Foxe*, 4th ed., revised and corrected with appendices, glossary, and indices by Josiah Pratt (London, The Religious Tract Society, 1877), V, 828.

⁷ Cited from Alfred W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible: the Documents Relating to the Translation and Publication of the Bible in English, 1525-1611* (Oxford, H. Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1911), pp. 229-230. John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of Matters Most Speciall and Memorable, Happenyng in the Church, with an Universal History of the Same*, . . . fourth time agayne published by Iohn Foxe (London, 1583), p. 1191. Hereafter references to Foxe concern this passage unless otherwise specified.

⁸ Great Britain, Privy Council, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, edited by N. H. Nicolas, VII (1540-1541), 107.

⁹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XVI, 166.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 212.

either Gray or Smyth).¹³ The upshot of the case was the imprisonment of Grafton along with Smyth, Gray, Cottisford and Walpole.¹⁴ No clue is given as to the date of Grafton's release.

The second mention of Grafton's legal difficulties is also in the Privy Council records. In this instance, he and seven other printers, among whom was Grafton's associate, Edward Whitchurch, were brought before the Council. They were convicted of printing "such bokes as wer thowght to be unlawful, contrary to the proclamation made on that behalf, [and] wer committed unto prison."¹⁵ This proceeding occurred on April 8, 1543, about two and one half years after Grafton's first conviction. On April 22 all but Grafton and Whitchurch were released on the condition that they declare what matter of books and ballads they had printed during the past three years and that they pay fines for violating the proclamation.¹⁶ It is significant that Grafton and Whitchurch are not mentioned for release together with the other printers, as shall be explained later on. Unfortunately, the duration of Grafton's confinement cannot be precisely determined. One clue is given, but it can lead only to speculation. In the records of the Privy Council for May 3, 1543, there is given the rather ambiguous statement that "the kings pleasure was touched" concerning the release of Grafton and Whitchurch,¹⁷ i.e., their freedom was being considered, but no definite action had yet been taken granting it.

The task now at hand is to reconcile Foxe's narrative with one of the two documentary accounts. This has been attempted by a number of scholars, who have arrived at variant conclusions. But it is important first of all to be aware of the inadequacies of

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

¹⁵ Great Britain, Privy Council, *Acts of the Privy Council*, edited by J. R. Dasent, I, 107.

¹⁶ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XVIII, Part I, 267. The amount of the fine is not specified.

¹⁷ *Acts of the Privy Council*, I, 125.

the narrative source. Because of a paucity of documents pertaining to this incident, earlier historians were inclined to accept Foxe's work *prima facie*. However, modern scholarship has proved *Actes and Monuments* to be riddled with inaccuracies. John Foxe's career and writings other than his martyrology are eloquent testimony of his religious bias. He had a number of contacts with leading reformers, among them William Tyndale and John Knox, and in matters of doctrine he leaned toward Calvinism. Upon the accession of Mary he was forced to flee England along with other zealous Protestants. During his exile Foxe collected much of the material for his record of the valor of Protestant martyrs. Foxe attempted to preserve for posterity as many contemporary accounts as possible, but exile forced him to receive many of them second hand, the veracity of which may be questioned on this score. Although the work shows an obvious use of documents too, Foxe has been shown to be guilty of faulty copying of them;¹⁸ moreover, he is accused further of willful exaggeration.¹⁹ J. S. Brewer is quite harsh with him: "Had Foxe, the Martyrologist, been an honest man, his carelessness and credulity would have incapacitated him from being a trustworthy historian. Unfortunately he was not honest; he tampered with the documents that came into his hands, and freely indulged in those very faults of suppression and equivocations for which he condemned his opponents."²⁰ H. Pope on one hand is less critical: he maintains that though no one any longer categorically accepts Foxe's narrative, there is no reason for questioning its substantial accuracy.²¹ However, he apparently contradicts him-

¹⁸ *Dictionary of National Biography*, founded in 1882 by George Smith, edited by Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (Oxford, University Press, 1927-1949), VII, 588. Hereafter cited as *DNB*.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Cited from Hugh Pope, *English Versions of the Bible*, revised and amplified by S. Bullough (London, B. Herder, 1952), p. 192. J. S. Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, I, 52.

²¹ *Ibid.*

self by agreeing with A. W. Pollard's opinion that "Almost every statement in it which can be tested can be shewn to be inexact."²² Sidney Lee in his biographical sketch of Foxe in the *Dictionary of National Biography* says that he was "a passionate advocate, ready to accept any prima facie evidence. . . . He was a compiler on a gigantic scale, neither scrupulous nor scholarly, . . ."²³ Such is the opprobrium accorded to Foxe's scholarship that even a spirited defense by a modern scholar, J. F. Mozley, leaves critics unconvinced.²⁴ This fair sampling of critical opinions is perhaps quite enough to have us regard Foxe's account of Grafton's troubles with a jaundiced eye. However, I think that Pope's statement that Foxe's compilation is substantially correct can be strongly defended in this instance by testing the veracity of the details in the passage concerning Grafton's imprisonment. It is unfortunate indeed that Foxe omits the date of the incident, but, if careful attention is paid to the chronology of events, the plausibility of the hypothesis that Grafton was jailed for proposing annotations in 1543 can be demonstrated. This date lends greater accuracy to Foxe's account, and conversely the account credibly explains the reason for Grafton's arraignment at that time.

Any suggestion that Foxe's description of Grafton's entanglement with the law might be an imaginary one altogether, fabricated to give further emphasis to the ruthlessness of the Catholic reaction, may be safely dismissed. Grafton had depended on the patronage of Cromwell, and reliable sources indicate that this attachment became a liability after the statesman's fall from power. This argument is boosted by a third reference to Grafton apart from those mentioned, which remarks that he was arrested

²² Cited *ibid.* The source of Pollard's remark is not given.

²³ *DNB*, VII, 589.

²⁴ James F. Mozley, *John Foxe and His Book* (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1940). Pope regards his argument to be generally unsuccessful. Pope, *English Versions of the Bible*, p. 192.

along with many others in a wave of repression inspired by more literal observance of the Six Articles Act.²⁵

For the purpose of associating the narrative account of Grafton's imprisonment with one or the other of the documentary ones, the validity of the hypothesis which regards the Privy Council records for January 4, 1541, as the source of Foxe's description shall be given consideration first. J. Gairdner in *Lollardy and the Reformation in England* makes the assumption that Grafton had to answer to other charges besides the ones made by the Privy Council,²⁶ which are none other than those cited by Foxe. Gairdner's main argument is a challenge to the veracity of Foxe's description; he does not attempt to prove a connection between the two sources. "Foxe, who is our sole authority here, is certainly wrong in making them [the printing of the Matthew Bible and the intent to add annotations to the Great Bible] the cause of his committal, which the Privy Council records show to have been . . . [the printing of seditious pamphlets]."²⁷ This accusation is sound enough if we acquiesce in his assumption that Grafton was indicted simultaneously for the printing of Melancthon's epistle and for his alleged intent to print an annotated Bible. Gairdner very well may have been influenced by Foxe's vague reference to the date of Grafton's arrest. The martyrologist's remark that the condemnation of the Great Bible and the subsequent indictment of its printer occurred "not long after" the fall of Cromwell suggests that the incident more likely would have happened six months after Cromwell's death than

²⁵ John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials; Relating Chiefly to Religion, and its Reformation, under the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary the First*, Vol. VIII-XIII of [*Historical and Biographical Works*] (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1820-1840), I, 566. No date is given for this incident, but, as he was released without punishment when no one spoke against him, it cannot be ascribed to either the 1541 or the 1543 imprisonment.

²⁶ James Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England; an Historical Survey* (London, Macmillan, 1908), II, 290.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

three years later. More substantial support for Gairdner's position is contained in a letter from Marillac to Francis I, dated May 11, 1541.²⁸ He says that shortly after the death of Cromwell edicts were made so that people no longer dared to read the Bible, but that recently a contrary edict was issued commanding the bishops to set up a Bible in every church. The import of this letter is that before May, 1541, Grafton's position was rather perilous in regard to his Bible-printing activities. Foxe himself says, previous to his account of Grafton's imprisonment, that the printer was regarded with suspicion by the clergy about the time of his arrest in January of 1541. He relates that Grafton told Bonner, the Bishop of London, how sorry he was to hear of the attainder of Cromwell, whereupon, when the former was summoned for the printing of a seditious "balet" which undoubtedly refers to the ballads of Smyth and Gray mentioned by the Privy Council, the latter disclosed Grafton's treasonable sentiments.²⁹ However, this reference can be used equally well to suggest that Foxe was aware of the fact that Grafton was jailed on an occasion other than the one he describes. He makes no mention of a ballad being among the charges made against the printer, nor does the Privy Council refer to one in the proceedings of April 8, 1543; whereas in the earlier case the cause of contention arises from the printing of illegal ballads. Therefore, haphazard as the chronology may be, it is reasonable to allow a distinction in Foxe's narrative between the two indictments.

Notwithstanding a dearth of concrete evidence, other scholars are of the same mind as Gairdner. The editors of the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* say that after Grafton was jailed for printing Melancthon's epistle, "he was never afterwards employed to print the Bible."³⁰ This is simply a rephrasing of

²⁸ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XVI, 396.

²⁹ Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, edited by Pratt, V, 413.

³⁰ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XVII, v, note 1.

Foxe's statement that "before he came out, [he] was bound in . . . neither to sell nor imprint, or cause to be imprinted any moe Bibles, . . ." Lee says that Grafton was jailed for six weeks, using Foxe's estimate, for printing a ballad in Cromwell's praise though the Privy Council does not mention anywhere the date of his release.³¹

Although a number of historians are in agreement with Gairdner's hypothesis, it can be decisively refuted. Gairdner fails to pay close attention to his chronology: he does not correlate an important statement by Foxe with the publication dates of Grafton's Great Bibles. Foxe says that the printer was threatened with a heavy fine not to print the Bible until a new translation had been agreed upon. However, he is officially credited with the printing of the seventh edition of the Great Bible, which bears the date 1540 in the imprint but was not published until December, 1541.³² It is illogical to imagine that Grafton was willing to incur an enormous fine in order to print another edition. For those who doubt the accuracy of one imprint in the *Short-title Catalogue* this argument may be expanded. Two other Great Bibles were printed after January, 1541, both accredited to Whitchurch.³³ That Whitchurch, who was as deeply involved in the Great Bible enterprise as Grafton, should continue printing them when his partner's activities were curtailed is quite unlikely.

The discrediting of Gairdner's point of view creates the problem of assigning some other date to Foxe's account. Since official records tell of no other imprisonment of Grafton besides the one of April 8, 1543, attention shall be brought to bear on that date as the possible source of Foxe's account. In the absence of any

³¹ *DNB*, VIII, 311.

³² Alfred W. Pollard and Gilbert R. Redgrave, *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640* (London, Printed by arrangement with the Bibliographical Society for B. Quaritch Ltd., 1926), 2076. Hereafter cited as *STC*.

³³ Fifth Great Bible, May, 1541, *STC*, 2074; Sixth Great Bible, November, 1541, *STC*, 2075.

qualification of Grafton's offense or of the penalty imposed upon him by the Privy Council,³⁴ J. F. Mozley relies on Foxe to supply further information.³⁵ To verify his assumption Mozley turns to the cause of the indictment, which is the printing of such books judged to be in violation of a proclamation. This is one issued in 1538 regulating printing activities, he explains, the only one of its kind in force at the time Grafton received his summons.³⁶ This proclamation was a measure taken to quell dissension caused by the dissemination of controversial religious literature. Concern had been aroused by the publication of books containing annotations "imagined" by the printers, yet bearing royal sanction. To curb this abuse the license for printing was made more explicit: to the words "cum privilegio regali" were added "ad imprimendum solum," i.e., the printer was given the right to print but was not allowed to add any words of his own. Furthermore, the Scriptures with annotations had to be thoroughly examined by the clergy as a prerequisite to approval. This restriction substantiates Foxe's statement that Grafton was punished for intending to add annotations to the Bible. The authorities probably had good reason to suspect Grafton on this count. A letter from Coverdale and Grafton to Cromwell, dated August 9, 1538, discloses their plan to include annotations in the Great Bible.³⁷ Though the first Great Bible was printed without them, Coverdale had prepared a "private table" with annotations for the revised edition.³⁸ The fall of Cromwell made their scheme too dangerous to carry out, but there is no question that Grafton, Coverdale's publisher and printer, was involved

³⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council*, I, 107.

³⁵ James F. Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles* (London, Lutterworth Press, 1953), p. 285.

³⁶ James L. L. Crawford, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations 1485-1714*, calendared by Robert Steele under the direction of the Earl of Crawford (Cambridge, Clarendon Press, 1910), I, 19.

³⁷ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XII, Part II, 58.

³⁸ Brooke F. Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible* (London, Macmillan, 1868), p. 98.

and justifiably could have been summoned in the absence of Coverdale to account for them. However, this point can be considered not as proof but only as a logical suggestion of the reason for the printer's arrest.

The lack of any specific details in the general charge made against the printers permits the consideration of any of a number of possible causes. It could have been, for example, in violation of a grant to both Grafton and Whitchurch in January of 1543, giving them a monopoly on the printing of certain books "of sacramental use" (i.e., church service books) for the next seven years.³⁹ Yet this suggestion is made tenuous by the examination of their works after April, 1543, which reveals that they printed at least one other book of this nature.⁴⁰ The inconclusiveness of this approach, the attempt to determine the cause of Grafton's imprisonment, necessitates the testing of Mozley's hypothesis by another method.

B. F. Westcott says that Foxe's account explains the suppression of annotations,⁴¹ which is putting the cart before the horse; i.e., he maintains that annotations were explicitly forbidden after Grafton heard the charges against him. If such were the case, Grafton in all likelihood must have been jailed before 1542. However, it is evident that no organized effort was made against the English translation of the Bible—more specifically, the unorthodox rendition of the Scriptures—until 1542, and that Grafton's former conduct left him more vulnerable to the attacks of the conservative clergy in 1543 than at any other time previously. The crux of the problem is to determine as closely as possible the date of Foxe's remark, "and not long after, great complaint was made to the king of the translation of the Bible, . . . and then was the sale of the Bible commanded to be stayed, the

³⁹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XVIII, Part I, 68.

⁴⁰ Dated 1544. *STC*, 15835.

⁴¹ Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, p. 102.

B[ishop]⁴² promising to amend and correct it, . . ." Foxe is undoubtedly referring to the convocation of Canterbury, which was a gathering of bishops and other clergymen in January, 1542.⁴³ John Strype implies that this convocation was the cause of Grafton's arrest,⁴⁴ and Pratt, misconstruing Foxe's chronology, says that he is wrong to have imagined that the printing of the Bible ceased after Cromwell's fall,⁴⁵ which is to suggest that the date of the imprisonment should come at least after December, 1541, the date of the seventh and last Great Bible. The very statement, "the B[ishop] promising to amend and correct it," implies that Foxe knew of some official announcement concerning the revision of the Bible, which can only be one issued by the 1542 convocation. As a matter of fact, the orthodox party was quite unsuccessful in their demands for the restriction of the printing and use of the Great Bible during the first few years after the Act of Six Articles.⁴⁶ The Privy Council records for May, 1541, tell of one Anthony Marler exhorting the council to issue a proclamation stimulating the sale of Bibles he has in stock.⁴⁷ Less than a week later, it was commanded in response to Marler's request

⁴² The 1570 edition contains the plural form, which clearly shows Pollard to be wrong in supplying the singular form. Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles*, p. 272, note.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ John Strype, *Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God Thomas Cranmer, Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, Vol. XX-XXI of [*Historical and Biographical Works*] (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1820-1840), I, 121.

⁴⁵ Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, edited by Pratt, V, 827.

⁴⁶ It is scarcely conceivable that Heath and Tunstall, bishops of Rochester and Durham respectively and arch-enemies of doctrinal reform, willingly volunteered to sponsor the sixth edition of the Great Bible. *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, VII, 185-186. This document raises some question as to how Marler, described as a London haberdasher, came into the business. It seems that, after the death of Cromwell, Grafton and Whitchurch sold their shares of interest in the Great Bible to him. Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles*, p. 271. The details and date of the transaction are not known, but it is clear that by 1541 Grafton and Whitchurch were printing the Bibles for Marler and not for themselves.

that "a Bible of the largest volume to be had in every church."⁴⁸ Reiterating Cromwell's Second Royal Injunction of 1538, this proclamation declares that since its issuance many towns and parishes have neglected to buy the Bible; henceforth, churches failing to provide one will be fined forty shillings for each month of delay. Hardly could an order have been more contrary to the wishes of the bishops demanding its revocation.

The inability of the Catholic party to suppress the English Bible directly after the destruction of Cromwell is overlooked by those who jump to the conclusion that the curtailment of the Bible necessarily followed the ruin of its chief supporter. A reason can be offered for this oversight, namely a misunderstanding of the real cause of Cromwell's loss of Henry's favor. J. A. Kingdon explains that his fall was due not to his campaign to disseminate "false and erroneous books" but rather to a suspicion planted by his enemies in the king's mind that he had committed personal treason.⁴⁹ Kingdon points out that Henry VIII saw little danger in Cromwell's activities in connection with the reform party; on the contrary, after the completion of the First Great Bible in April, 1539, Cromwell was made Earl of Essex and Great Chamberlain.⁵⁰ He maintains that "no other reason suggests itself as the cause of the King's favour than this."⁵¹ Yet it

⁴⁸ Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, XVI, 390. The proclamation was printed by Grafton and Whitchurch. *STC*, 7793.

⁴⁹ John A. Kingdon, *Richard Grafton, Citizen and Grocer of London, and One Time Master of His Company, Servant and Printer to Edward Prince and King, and First Treasurer General of Christ's Hospital; a Sequel to Poyntz and Grafton*. (London, Privately Printed by Rixon & Arnold, 1901), p. 10.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11. He quotes his source as "Grafton's Abridgement," ed. 1570, fol. 156, b.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* Other arguments are made by Kingdon in support of this position, but they are of doubtful validity. Although his biography of Grafton is a definitive work in many respects, Kingdon's account of the printer's life from about 1540 to the beginning of Edward VI's reign is skimpy and vague. In fact, he does not appear to be aware of the fact that Grafton was imprisoned twice. He says that by "the king's pleasure" Grafton was released in January 1541 (submitted as further evidence that the king yet favored the supporters of the vernacular Bible) when the phrase appears in proper context only in the document concerning his and Whitchurch's release in 1543.

would be quite erroneous to assume that the cause of the reformers was not seriously impaired by the removal of a powerful ally. Rather it should be understood that the conservative, Catholic party was able to substantiate their threats only when it was able to gain the king's support.

The convocation of 1542 was the first concerted reaction to the vernacular Bible. It declared that the English translation of the Old and New Testament needed many corrections. Archbishop Cranmer requested, in compliance with the general demand, that committees headed by the Bishops Tunstall and Gardiner be formed to revise portions of them in such a manner as to keep the English as close to the original meaning as possible.⁵² Gardiner was especially anxious to restore the traditional meaning as given in the Vulgate, thereby avoiding Tyndale's interpretations.⁵³ In fact he wanted to retain so many Latin words that, according to the Protestant historians Burnet and Fuller, the people would have been able to understand his proposed version no better than the Latin text itself.⁵⁴ The convocation did not obtain the desired results, however, for Cranmer brought in an order from the king that the task of revision be turned over to the universities.⁵⁵

The failure of the convocation of 1542 has been overemphasized by some. "As if in contempt of the bishops," says Pratt,⁵⁶ Anthony Marler was granted a patent in March, 1542, giving

⁵² David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, a Synodo Verolamiensi, A.D. CCCCLXVI ad Londinensem A.D. MDCCXVII. Accedunt Constitutiones et Alia ad Historiam Ecclesiae Anglicanae Spectantia* (London, R. Gosling, 1737), III, 860. Constant, *The Reformation in England*, pp. 333-334. Constant says (p. 334, note) that some of the records of the proceedings have been destroyed.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 333-334. His sources are quoted as J. H. Blunt, *The Reformation of the Church of England*, p. 518 *et seq.*, and A. F. Pollard, *Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation, 1489-1556*, p. 166 *et seq.* There is apparently no extant document of this order. The universities evidently did not fulfill their assignment, for no revision was forthcoming during the remainder of Henry VIII's reign.

⁵⁶ Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, edited by Pratt, V, 827.

him sole authority to print the Bible in English during the next four years.⁵⁷ Mozley points out the omission in the patent of any specific kind of Bible; therefore, if the convocation had succeeded in banning the Great Bible, Marler would not necessarily have been ruined. It is more likely that he was expecting the authorization of a new edition.⁵⁸

A digression is in order at this point to answer a question which Marler's patent raises: with Marler now in complete control of the production of the Bible, is it not possible that Grafton was prohibited to print the Bible about the time Marler received his patent? Referring back to the proclamation of May, 1541, it seems that Marler was motivated to urge its issuance by signs of a dwindling market. He complains of a large stock of unsold Bibles lying on his hands, which he can persuade no one to buy.⁵⁹ No doubt it was that proclamation which enabled Grafton and Whitchurch to print three more editions of the Great Bible for Marler. Grafton probably left off printing the Bible at the end of 1541, because the market had reached the saturation point, i.e., the proclamation had been fully complied with. Marler, however, stuck with the venture, probably anticipating the demands for the Great Bible's revision.

The efforts of the bishops, though largely frustrated by the king's order that the Bible's revision be removed from their control, were by no means without effect. Chapuys, Charles V's ambassador to Henry VIII, in a letter to his master, dated February 22, 1542, overemphasizes the authority invested in the convocation.⁶⁰ He relates the news that Parliament (referring to the convocation, which had been summoned concurrently with it)⁶¹ has passed an ordinance condemning and prohibiting the Bible

⁵⁷ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XVII, 102.

⁵⁸ Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles*, p. 278.

⁵⁹ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, VII, 185-186.

⁶⁰ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XVII, 51.

⁶¹ Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles*, p. 282.

which Cromwell got translated into English. He perhaps uses the word "ordinance" as we would use "resolution." He would be wrong otherwise, for the convocation passed no law restricting the Bible.

Although there are contrary opinions about the effectiveness of the convocation of 1542, all sources unanimously agree that the reform movement suffered a severe setback in 1543 with the passage of an act designed to suppress once and for all the causes of the religious controversy. This piece of legislation, entered on the Parliament roll January 22, 1543,⁶² is entitled "An Acte for thadvancement of the true Religion and for thabbolisshment of the contrarie."⁶³ It consists of a series of laws restricting the printing, sale and use of Bibles and other religious books. Because the Scriptures are being falsely interpreted and disputed in the pulpit and in printed matter, the act declares, all books, ballads, etc., contrary to the true doctrines of the Catholic and apostolic Church and in consequence all books of the Old and New Testament arising from the translation of Tyndale and other Protestant reformers are to be suppressed. This first paragraph of the act appears to satisfy nearly all of the bishops' demands. However, there is a proviso (Paragraph IV) allowing Bibles not emanating from Tyndale's translation to stand in force; as the Great Bible remained the authorized version, it must have been considered to fall within this clause. Paragraph VI reiterates the proclamation of 1538 regulating printing, requiring books to be approved by the king and to contain a full imprint along with a superscription indicating approval. The act contains many details describing the punishments to be meted out to offenders and the classes of people allowed to read the Scriptures. The statute on religion of 1543 is essentially a re-statement and final codification of the Act of Six Articles and

⁶² *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XVIII, Part I, 44.

⁶³ 34/35 Henry VIII, c.1. *Statutes of the Realm*, III, 894-897.

other decrees regulating religion, couched in such unequivocal terms as to leave no loopholes for dissenters.⁶⁴

It would be wrong to assume that the statute directly caused the arrest of Grafton in April, for Paragraph II states that the penalties for printing illegal books are not to be enforced until July of that year. Furthermore, he was arrested for violating a proclamation, not a statute law. Yet Grafton and the seven other printers were jailed approximately at the time the bill became law.⁶⁵ The proximity of dates should not be dismissed as a coincidence. The passage of the act reënforcing the Catholic faith marks the climax of legislative reaction to reform in Henry VIII's reign. Grafton is more likely to have been questioned by the Privy Council for his earlier activities in connection with the reform movement at this time than in the period of uncertainty following Cromwell's fall.

The fact that Whitchurch was jailed and released with Grafton in 1543 gives further support to Mozley's hypothesis. Their close association is evident; they collaborated in the publishing of the Matthew Bible and the Great Bible,⁶⁶ and they are credited with the printing of the proclamation of 1541 ordering every church to purchase a Bible.⁶⁷ In January of 1543 they were granted concurrently a monopoly on the printing of church

⁶⁴ It seems hardly necessary to mention that all was not peace and quiet after 1543. In 1546 the king was compelled to issue another proclamation in an effort to stem the flow of heretical books from the press. Crawford, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, I, 30. This has similar wording to one drawn up in 1540 to promote the sale of the Great Bible and erroneously dated March 17, 1542. It is not certain that the proclamation issued in 1546 is derived from this proposed one. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XVII, v, note 1.

⁶⁵ Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles*, p. 283.

⁶⁶ According to the *Short-title Catalogue* imprints, Grafton and Whitchurch did not collaborate in the printing of the second through seventh editions. However, Professor W. A. Jackson has informed me that it would be wrong to assume that they discontinued their partnership in the Great Bible after printing the first edition. He says that different libraries hold variant issues of the same edition, some giving Whitchurch as the printer and others Grafton; for example, the New York Public Library has copies of *STC* 2075 in both forms.

⁶⁷ Above, note 48.

service books.⁶⁸ When Grafton was arrested for violating the Act of Six Articles,⁶⁹ Whitchurch was summoned along with him, and Foxe says they were both accused of neglecting to be confessed.⁷⁰ The Privy Council records contain no hint whatsoever of a possible involvement of Whitchurch in the arraignment of Grafton, Gray and Smyth in January, 1541, while there is no question of his presence during the process of April 8, 1543. Furthermore, it is known that they were considered together for release and then only after the six other printers had served their sentence.⁷¹ Whitchurch is not mentioned by Foxe in his account of the Bible's condemnation, but both Pratt and William Herbert in *Typographical Antiquities* believe that Whitchurch shared the same fate with Grafton.⁷² Their supposition is only logical in view of the similarity of the two printers' activities and their association. Their partnership in the publishing of the Matthew and Great Bibles and the equal consideration given to their plight in 1543 lend strong support to the hypothesis that Whitchurch as well as Grafton was attained for the reasons given by Foxe.

In the final analysis, Foxe's account of the Bible's condemnation and the subsequent imprisonment of Grafton is more substantially accurate if placed in proper context. Thorough acquaintance with the events of that time and their chronology is necessary if we are not to be misled by the more severe critics of Foxe. The vagueness of Foxe's chronology may be held against him, but this does not justify any claims that his account of the

⁶⁸ Above, note 39.

⁶⁹ Above, note 25.

⁷⁰ Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, edited by Pratt, V, 444.

⁷¹ Above, note 17.

⁷² Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, edited by Pratt, V, 828. Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities; or The History of Printing in England, Scotland and Ireland: Containing Memoirs of Our Ancient Printers, and Register of the Books Printed by Them*, begun by the late Joseph Ames; considerably augmented by William Herbert, and greatly enlarged . . . by T. F. Dibdin (London, W. Miller, 1810-1819), III, 429.

English Bible is distorted beyond usefulness to later historians. On the contrary, sources independent of Foxe's work seem to support it far more than depreciate it. In turn it is very helpful in supplying a reason for the charges made against Grafton in 1543. And careful examination of both the narrative and primary sources prove beyond a reasonable doubt that he was not charged with printing the Matthew Bible or proposing annotations for the Great Bible in 1541.

William Dean Howells and His “Library Edition”

By ROBERT W. WALTS

AT Modern Language Association meetings in 1950 and in 1956, a group of scholars banded together to discuss America's pioneer realist, William Dean Howells. Among the various matters considered at these meetings were the unavailability of Howells' novels and the advisability of a collected edition of his work. Several resolutions were offered in 1950 suggesting that grants be solicited for the purpose of issuing such a collected edition.

This interest in a collection of Howells' novels recalls his own rising hope in the first decade of this century that a library edition be issued. The present paper is the story of his hope and his effort and perhaps can contribute to our view of Howells in his declining years, for it utilizes some previously undiscovered material and attempts to show the psychological effect on Howells of the dropping of the library edition scheme after but six volumes were issued. Perhaps too it can add to our grasp of the problems of publishing that face an individual author.

At the beginning of the century William Dean Howells was at the very summit of his literary career. He had received two honorary degrees from Yale College and one from Harvard,¹ and he was later to receive honorary degrees from Oxford, Columbia, and Princeton.² He was soon to become the President of

¹ William Dean Howells, *Life in Letters*, ed. Mildred Howells, 2 vols. (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1928), I, 298. (Hereafter cited as *Life*.) See also letter of October 15, 1901, to Twain (Litt.D. at Yale, 1901), II, 148.

² *Life*, II, 201, letter of June 26, 1904, to Aurelia Howells and Mrs. Achille Fréchet (sisters) and Mildred Howells' note (Litt.D. at Oxford, 1904); II, 206,

the American Academy of Arts and Letters³ and an Honorary Foreign Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature.⁴ J. Henry Harper of the great publishing firm remembers him as having been "in the very front rank of American letters. . . ."⁵ The Harper spokesman's remark was justified in 1900.

Howells had been attached to the publishing house of Harper and Brothers during the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century, and it was with great amazement that he and other literary men saw the financial collapse of the House of Harper in January, 1900. Certain conditions in the House resulting from its status as a family business helped to bring the publishers so close to bankruptcy that only intervention by J. P. Morgan prevented what the financier thought was a "national disaster." Under a new head, Colonel George Harvey, the House undertook to regain its place in the publishing world. Harvey attempted to establish financial stability by instituting economies and removing the unproductive employees from the staff.

Colonel Harvey admired Howells. One of his first moves was to get Howells under contract as a columnist. Thus Howells became the contributor of "The Editor's Easy Chair" in *Harper's Monthly*, a seat until recently occupied by the late Bernard DeVoto, among others. Harvey also made Howells one of the literary advisors of the revamped House of Harper.

In the struggle to regain financial stability, it is natural that the House of Harper should have relied upon its most prolific

Mildred Howells' note (Lit.D. at Columbia, 1905); II, 321-322, Mildred Howells' note and Howells' letter of May 13, 1912, to son John Mead Howells (L.H.D. at Princeton, 1912).

³ *Life*, II, 259. Mildred Howells' note: "Howells was elected President of the American Academy of Arts and Letters on November 7, 1908, at its first organized meeting, and remained its President until his death."

⁴ *Life*, II, 275-276. Letter of November 11, 1909, from H. G. Rosedale, Honorary Foreign Secretary of the Society, to Howells: "It is with great satisfaction that I have the honour to inform you that at a meeting of the Council of the Royal Society of Literature, held on November 10th, you were unanimously elected an Honorary Foreign Fellow. . . . Yours fraternally in the cause of Literature. . . ."

⁵ J. Henry Harper, *I Remember* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1934), p. 53.

and best known writer, and it is not strange that the editors should have believed that a risk on his past successes would be preferable to a problematically greater risk on his untested future performances. With no great delay, the powers at the House of Harper decided to publish a collected edition of the writings of William Dean Howells. It is possible, indeed probable, that the economic difficulties inspired their decision.

The problems were great: Howells had written an incredibly large number of books, and many of the copyrights for these books were held by the Houghton, Mifflin Company and other publishing houses; in addition, many of the books were copyrighted in England, and it was necessary to consider international copyright law. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the organization of the enormous task began in the fall of 1902 as both the House and Howells busied themselves with the details of copyrights.

Howells was in Boston on October 10, 1902, helping to make the necessary arrangements with the major holder of outstanding copyrights, Houghton, Mifflin and Company. Mifflin was conditionally willing to coöperate with the rival press; Howells next day wrote to Harper and Brothers:

Kittery Point
Oct. 11, 1902

Gentlemen

Yesterday I saw Mr. Mifflin of Houghton, Mifflin and Co., and found him willing to let you have his list of books for the library edition which you propose to make. His conditions seemed to me very fair, but you are to decide upon them. He promised to write me a letter stating them clearly, and as soon as I get this letter I will send it to you.

Very sincerely
W. D. Howells.⁶

⁶ From an unpublished letter in the possession of Harper and Brothers, New York, N. Y. Permission has been given by Professor William White Howells, on behalf of the heirs of William Dean Howells, to print these and other unpublished Howells' letters, in this article only. Further publication is not permitted without express permission.

An extant memorandum, dated October 13, 1902, seems to be concerned with the terms upon which Mr. Mifflin was willing to coöperate with the House; the memorandum might indicate too some of the reasons for the eventual failure of the enterprise. The plan agreed upon by the two firms included the following items: (1) the edition was to be sold by subscription, in complete sets only; (2) for all books the rights of which were owned by Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Harper and Brothers were to buy the plates from Houghton, Mifflin; (3) the Houghton, Mifflin plates were to be used only during the printing of the Library Edition; (4) Houghton, Mifflin and Company were to receive five per cent of the retail sale price; (5) every volume was to contain an acknowledgment of the Houghton, Mifflin and Company rights; and (6) Houghton, Mifflin and Company were to receive one set of the regular edition free, and if a de luxe edition left the press, they were to receive one set free.⁷ The terms required by the Boston company added greatly to the expense of publishing the collected edition and more than likely contributed to the abandonment of the work.

Howells probably recognized the enormous expense of the enterprise, for he was willing to keep down his royalties to trim the costs that were to be incurred in the publication. To that end, on October 17, 1902, he wrote to Frederick A. Duneka, Harvey's assistant, advising the Harper manager of his unselfishness:

Kittery Point, Me.

Oct. 17, 1902

Dear Mr. Duneka:

Of course you will find me reasonable in regard to royalties in the library edition. I am glad that you think of making an early beginning, and I shall be ready when I get to New York in about a fortnight, to look over the material with you. Shall you write to Mr. Mifflin?

Yours sincerely
W. D. Howells.⁸

⁷ Unpublished memorandum in the possession of Harper and Brothers, New York, N. Y.

⁸ Unpublished letter in the possession of Harper and Brothers, New York, N. Y.

Howells was eager to start the tremendous task of collecting and editing his books, but his hopes for a beginning in 1902 were premature.

Howells was not the only optimist at Harper's. Plans proceeded so smoothly, although there was as yet no beginning, that even Frederick A. Duneka became optimistic in 1904 and again discussed royalties and probable date of publication in a letter to Howells:

When we do such a collected edition we will agree to pay a 10 per cent royalty upon the book for that edition only. We believe that by next year the collected edition will be well under way. The present idea is to issue the library set in two parts, doing, first, such volumes as are not fiction and afterwards the novels as the second part. This would probably prove more profitable than to issue all of them at once.⁹

Duneka's letter, besides being overoptimistic, shows that the plan to sell by subscription in sets only, mentioned in the agreement with Houghton, Mifflin, probably had been dropped, for if the subscription-by-set plan had been continued, it would not have mattered if the books had been issued all at once. Howells no doubt preferred not to use the subscription plan, for, as he writes in *Literature and Life*, "No book of literary quality was made to go by subscription except Mr. Clemens' books. . . ."¹⁰ There should have been some intimation on Howells' part that all was not well with the plan to print works of non-fiction first, but he agreed with the Harper plan and was eager to start work on the set: "I am quite of your notion about beginning the library edition with my non-fiction volumes. As soon as you are ready I will begin revising them for copy."¹¹

But 1905 came, and the House was still not ready to com-

⁹ From an unpublished letter of February 16, 1904, in the possession of Harper and Brothers, New York, N. Y. Printed by permission of Harper and Brothers, as are other unpublished letters.

¹⁰ William Dean Howells, "The Man of Letters as a Man of Business," *Literature and Life*, Library Edition (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1911), p. 15.

¹¹ From an unpublished letter, dated February 19, 1904, in the possession of Harper and Brothers, New York, N. Y.

mence publication;¹² moreover, a letter of Howells to Duneka, dated July 7, 1905, shows that Howells was becoming impatient: "If your purpose holds to begin the library edition of my books, I hope you will not let me fail to have the opening volumes for revision before you put them in print."¹³ But Howells did not get the revisions from Duneka that year or the next.

Actually, Howells did not begin the job of collecting his texts until 1909, for in that year he seems for the first time to be making progress upon the non-fiction to be released first. While he was in New York in the summer of 1909, he wrote:

130 West 57th St.
June 9, 1909.

Dear Mr. Duneka:

We are kept until Sunday night by a return of my old liver trouble, which I must rest off the pain of before I start, and in the meantime I am writing the "Story of the Story" for a preface to "A Hazard of New Fortunes." It goes so glibly that I am likely to have an unrequited passion for that kind of thing.

I don't want to forecast the plumage of our unhatched chickens too far ahead; but as to the "complete" edition I have some distinct preferences. I should like a richly dark sober cloth—dark blue or green—since James has got maroon, and I should like the title lettered on the cloth direct, and not on a paper label. I know that those things always involve a question of

¹² An unpublished letter in the possession of Harper and Brothers, New York, N. Y., indicates that Houghton, Mifflin and Company were retarding in some way the progress of the edition:

340 West 57th st.,
May 16, 1905

Dear Mr. Duneka:

I enclose a very critical letter from Mr. Mifflin. Will you kindly look up the formal agreement, if it really exists, or if it does not, will you introduce officially and arrange the matter between your two houses.

Yours sincerely,
W. D. Howells.

¹³ From an unpublished letter in the possession of Harper and Brothers, New York, N. Y. The same letter shows that arrangements were still being made for copy and copyrights: "No more proofs of my London books have come, though your printers have all the copy."

cost, but I hope you agree with my taste. I should like nothing but the title; no decoration of any kind.

Yours sincerely
W. D. Howells.¹⁴

Howells knew at the time he wrote this letter that he was requesting too much "richness" for the edition. The books would be expensive to manufacture. Stamped gold lettering costs considerably more than printed and gummed paper labels.

A few days after his letter to Duneka in which he discussed the format of the "Library Edition," Howells wrote to his brother, Joseph A. Howells, telling him the scope of the collected set:

Kittery Point
July 4, 1909

I am engaged on a job that would perhaps interest you: putting together my books for a library edition. By grouping two or three or four of the shorter ones, I can perhaps get the entire edition into 31 or 32 volumes of 4 to 5 hundred pages each, of the dimensions of *London Films* or *Roman Holidays*. To accompany this edition I am going to write a literary autobiography, which will treat of the where, when, and how of them all. . . . In going over my books I find that 18 or 20 volumes have been written since I came to Harpers in 1886, and 10 or 12 before that. Of course, my meat went into the earlier ones, and yet there are three or four of the later novels which are as good as any.¹⁵

Here are other reasons for the eventual failure of the scheme: the "Library Edition" would run to as many as thirty-two large volumes. Such a set would be extremely expensive and beyond the means of buyers other than institutions; thus popular sale was lost. Then too, Howells admits that his early novels held his "meat." These novels belonged to other publishing houses, and efforts to secure them were expensive and time-consuming. But Howells' work on the collection had progressed to some extent.

¹⁴ Unpublished letter in the possession of Harper and Brothers, New York, N. Y.

¹⁵ *Life*, II, 267-268.

Now it was necessary for him to prepare his books for republication by revision of the texts, which was not an extensive task, and by the writing of "Bibliographical" prefaces.

The "Bibliographical" prefaces presented to Howells the problem of establishing exact chronology of the texts. This was no easy task, and Howells' reaction to that single aspect of the collecting of his work is suggestive of the magnitude of his work. Thus he writes to his brother Joseph:

For this purpose I asked Aurelia [Howells' sister] for my letters to father and herself, for I had fortunately spoken in them always of what work I had in hand. Otherwise I should not be able to time the books. These letters cover a period of fifty years, and with an average of one a week they amount to something over 2500. It took a whole week's work to sort them chronologically, first in decades and then in years. But now it is done, and I have only to go over them and discard those which do not bear on my undertaking.¹⁶

His job was a long, hard, and unwieldy business, and the seventy-two-year-old man must often have despaired. He did become melancholy, raking over the residue of his course through life: "It is cruel hard looking over them, and like delving in the tombs."¹⁷

The "Bibliographical" prefaces are short papers introducing the reader to the history of the novel or work of non-fiction to which they are prefixed. Howells wrote eleven prefaces, the following five of which were never published by Harper and Brothers: the preface to *Heroines of Fiction*; the preface to *The Son of Royal Langbrith*; the preface to *The Shadow of a Dream*, *An Open-Eyed Conspiracy*, *A Pair of Patient Lovers*, and *A Circle in the Water*; the preface to *The Coast of Bohemia* and *The Story of a Play*; and the preface to *A Traveler from Altruria* and *Through the Eye of the Needle*. These prefaces were found in 1944 by George Arms in

¹⁶ *Life*, II, 267-268.

¹⁷ *Life*, II, 267.

the Howells collection at Harvard. Arms reasons that one preface has been lost.¹⁸

The prefaces which *were* published accompanied the six volumes of the "Library Edition" issued on July 26, 1911. The preliminary notice of the "Library Edition" seems ironical from the vantage point of 1958: "Perhaps no literary announcement ever made quite takes rank with this one,"¹⁹ for of the thirty-one or thirty-two volumes proudly anticipated by Howells,²⁰ only these six were published: I, *My Literary Passions and Criticism and Fiction*; II, *The Landlord at Lion's Head*; III, *Literature and Life*; IV, *London Films and Certain Delightful English Towns*; V, *Literary Friends and Acquaintances*; and VI, *A Hazard of New Fortunes*.²¹

Howells' preference for the style of binding of the "Library Edition" was observed by Harper: the cloth is a "richly dark sober" green, and the titles are modestly lettered in gold upon the spines.²² The volumes are of moderate size, 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and the contents are bulky, ranging from 292 pages in *My Literary Passions* to 576 pages in *A Hazard of New Fortunes*. The books are rich in appearance and impressive in size, indicating that their publication cost the House of Harper a large amount of money.

The failure of the "Library Edition" is probably to be at-

¹⁸ George Arms, "Howells' Unpublished Prefaces," *New England Quarterly*, XVII (1944), 580-591. The prefaces are all in the Howells Collection at the Harvard Library; they were intended for the following volumes, respectively: VII, VIII, X, XI, XII. The preface to Volume IX has been lost (p. 580).

¹⁹ Clara Marburg Kirk and Rudolf Kirk, *William Dean Howells: Representative Selections*, American Writers Series (New York, American Book Company, 1950), p. clxv. Kirk and Kirk cite this announcement from the end pages of *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, issue of August, 1911. The announcement is not available in bound editions of the periodical.

²⁰ *Life*, II, 267. See above, n. 15.

²¹ William M. Gibson and George Arms, *A Bibliography of William Dean Howells* (New York, The New York Public Library, 1948), respectively sections 11-B, 11-C, 11-D, 11-E, 11-F, and 11-G.

²² See above, n. 14.

tributed to poor planning, avoidable expense, and Howells' waning popularity. The first plan to sell the books by subscription in sets only was too cumbersome to be continued through the long years of preparation. Moreover, a complete "Library Edition," all thirty-two volumes in rich dress, would have cost the subscriber well over one hundred dollars, a sizable sum for the works of an American novelist. Harper and Howells made another mistake when they published the non-fiction works before any of the novels were issued. The people interested in Howells' non-fictional works were not too numerous, and even they already had purchased the works in which they were interested. Howells was popular because of *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, *The Minister's Charge*, and *A Modern Instance*; if those books had been issued first, perhaps the "Library Edition" would have found a different market.

Aside from the expense and poor planning, there was another factor contributing to the failure of the "Library Edition," the time of publication. Summer is notoriously an unprofitable time for the release of any literature other than the lightest, but the season is of less importance in this case than the fact that by 1911 and 1912 the reading taste of America was swinging away from Howells. Perhaps by 1911 the American reading public was tired of an author who had begun to carve out his niche during the Civil War.

The problem of the failure is difficult to solve; I suspect that J. Henry Harper did not have his finger on the public pulse in 1912 when he announced the "Library Edition":

We are just on the eve of publishing a complete Library Edition of the works of W. D. Howells. For half a century Mr. Howells has been producing books which stand among the best in American Literature. Let us hope that he will continue through his writings to entertain and enlighten us for many a year to come.²³

²³ J. Henry Harper, *The House of Harper: A Century of Publishing in Franklin Square* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1912), p. 330.

The "Library Edition" can be considered symbolic of Howells' life in the House of Harper during the Harvey period. The edition was intended to help the House regain financial standing in the publishing world just as Howells' recall by Harvey was for reasons of House business. The results were similar: the "Library Edition" failed.

Many years and many disappointments later, Howells was still contracted to the House of Harper, but by the year of his death he was producing only "The Easy Chair" column.

As his remaining days grew fewer and fewer, he spent more and more time in the South, hoping to find in Florida and Georgia, not the fabled Fountain of Youth, but a warm sun that would mitigate the chill that steadily went deeper into his old body. He was in Georgia early in 1920 when a Harper editor revived in his mind the hope of the recommencement of the "Library Edition":

In talking with Mr. Brainerd yesterday he again reverted to his favorite subject, publication of a fine edition of your books. And in this connection he asked me to write you to see whether you would be willing to autograph for us, at your convenience, perhaps two thousand sheets, which could be sent to you at any time, in order that they might be used for insertion in such an edition when published.²⁴

This letter was followed in a few days by another letter which indicated that Howells had answered the first letter and told Harper that he already had signed sheets (presumably now in the possession of Howells' heirs) for a collected edition. The second letter from Mr. Wells is somewhat crestfallen:

March 15, 1920

Dear Mr. Howells:

I am covered with chagrin. But neither Brainerd nor I knew anything of the autographed sheets which are locked up now in one of our safes, so you must attribute my mistake to ignorance rather than stupidity. I am

²⁴ From an unpublished letter, dated March 10, 1920, unsigned, in the possession of Harper and Brothers, New York, N. Y.

delighted that you have this tiresome task behind you and that we are already fortified with material for the special edition.²⁵

The "fine edition" of which Wells wrote so confidently was never published. The letters which he wrote may have been attempts to cheer an old, dying friend, but they probably had the opposite effect. Howells had worked long and hard on the original scheme and received only disappointment for his pains. It is doubtful that, remembering previous frustration, he derived much pleasure from Wells' vague assurances.

²⁵ From an unpublished letter in the possession of Harper and Brothers, New York, N. Y.

In his *The Realist at War; The Mature Years 1885-1920 of William Dean Howells* (Syracuse, N. Y., Syracuse University Press, 1958), Edwin H. Cady, discussing the Library Edition, writes (p. 254): "Henry Rood, who had worked out the design of the set and was 'deeply disappointed' at the outcome, wrote that publishers' disputes 'concerning details of copyright and adjustment of financial matters' had wrecked the enterprise."

Persistent Remaindering

(Pena and de l'Obel's *Adversaria*, 1570-1618)

By ALBERT E. LOWNES

“**P**IERRE Pena and Matthias de l'Obel's *Stirpium Adversaria Nova* (London, 1570-1571)¹ is a herbal memorable for many things, not the least of which is that it contains the first engraved representations of the true tobacco plant (*Nicotiana tabacum*) and, beside it on the plate, the first picture of a man in the act of smoking.” Thus Lawrence C. Wroth announced the addition of a remarkable book to the John Carter Brown Library.²

If space had permitted, Dr. Wroth might have pointed out some of the things that make the volume memorable. The title page, dated 1570, is one of the earliest if not the first engraved title page in an English book. As part of its design it incorporates the earliest engraved English map. The authors, Pierre Pena, a Frenchman, and Matthias de l'Obel, a Belgian, had been students under the famous teacher, Guillaume Rondelet, at Montpellier. After completing their studies they had traveled widely on the Continent before arriving in England in 1559. Their herbal was the most comprehensive work of its kind published in Britain up to that time. Its sole rival might have been William Turner's *A New Herball*, which appeared in three parts,

¹ STC 19595.

² *JCB Annual Report*, 1950-1951, p. 53. The picture is a woodcut, not an engraving. See also two plates in *Panacea or Precious Bane, Tobacco in Sixteenth Century Literature*, by Sarah Augusta Dickson (New York Public Library, 1954). The captions read: “Tupinamba Indians Smoking in council deciding when to eat their prisoner, Staden. From *Warhaftige Historia und beschreibung*, 1557, by Hans Staden” (p. 110); “Brazilian Indian smoking a primitive cigar. From *Les Singularitez de la France antarctique*, Paris, 1557, by André Thevet” (p. 120).

1551, 1562 and 1568. Only the first part was printed in London and the book, in archaic black letter, was out of date almost before it came from the press. *Adversaria*, on the other hand, followed the Continental pattern set by Matthioli, Lonitzer, Doedoens and others. In some ways it was better, for an attempt at classification replaced the usual alphabetical order and closely related plants were thus brought into proximity in the book.

Somewhere in their travels the authors had learned of a number of American plants and, besides the tobacco mentioned above, they had the first illustrations of such notable American species as the pitcher plant (*Sarracenia*) and the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*). For the latter they cite the English name "Potades," thereby anteceding Gerarde who is usually credited with introducing the potato to English readers by a full quarter century.

After the publication of *Adversaria* Pena returned to France where he became a successful physician. This is his sole scientific publication. The extent of his contribution cannot be determined, and the work is commonly referred to as de l'Obel's.

De l'Obel remained in England for most of his long life except for a period as physician to William the Silent in Holland. His daughter married an Englishman, James Coel or Cole, and de l'Obel spent his last years at his son-in-law's house at Highgate, where he died in 1616 at the age of 78.

The publisher, Thomas Purfoot, must have awaited the book with impatience and high hopes. STC credits him with about 200 volumes, but many of these were small political or religious tracts of minor interest and importance. This is one of his few illustrated folios.

In spite of the date 1570 on the title page, the book was published early in the following year. The colophon reads, "Londini. 1571. Calendis Ianuarijs, excudebat Thomae Purfoeti, ad Lucretie symbolum." The preface has the same date. Even with this delay five of the 273 woodblocks apparently had not been

received when the book went to press. Three of them are inserted as small separate leaves and the other two—one is the famous tobacco—were pasted into spaces left blank for them. Many copies lack one or more of these added illustrations.

The collation is simple: engraved title page, A2, B2, *6, A6-Pp6 + 2. The dedication to Queen Elizabeth fills 3½ pages. The balance of A2v and B1 has the introduction, "Operis argumentum & emolumentum," addressed to the medical faculty of Montpellier. The first B2, probably blank, is lacking in all copies examined. The starred signature is an index, 11 pages, the last blank. The work itself begins on the second A1. There are errors in signing and pagination in all copies examined, but many of them were corrected during the press run, so that two copies rarely have the same errors and they are without significance. The two leaves added to Pp are interesting. The first has three woodcuts, with text, and Purfoot's colophon. The second has "Copie de Privilege" of Charles IX of France, dated 12 December 1570. This leaf is lacking in most copies. Perhaps it was added only to those intended for sale on the Continent.

Richard Pulteney states that the book was printed at Antwerp by Plantin,³ but there is no evidence to support this. It does seem possible that the woodblocks were executed on the Continent, for they are much finer than most English work of the period.

It is certainly true that Purfoot's print order must have been much larger than the sale of the book warranted, but he must have sold a good many copies, for the book is far from rare today. There are copies in many American libraries and a number of others are in private collections. Dealers, of course, like to call it rare, although it shows up frequently in their catalogues. A second part, promised on the title page, did not appear until 1605, as we shall see.

Five years later in 1576 Christophe Plantin of Antwerp published a larger herbal by de l'Obel, *Plantarum seu Stirpium His-*

³ *The Progress of Botany in England*, 1790, v. i, p. 100.

toria. He had already bought Purfoot's collection of woodblocks and many of them were used in the new work. These blocks were frequently used later in other books by de l'Obel, as well as in those of his friends Dodoens and Clusius which were also published by Plantin. About the same time, Plantin also bought 800 of Purfoot's remaining copies of *Adversaria* for 1200 florins.⁴

Plantin intended to add *Adversaria* to de l'Obel's later work, but it is frequently offered separately. He prepared a new title page with an elaborate woodcut border and renamed it *Nova Stirpium Adversaria*. He discarded the courtly dedication to Queen Elizabeth and abridged the preface slightly by eliminating a few Greek phrases so that it filled a single leaf A2. This was followed by Purfoot's signatures A-Pp. Plantin may have intended to cancel the added leaf with Purfoot's colophon, but it remains in about half of the copies examined. He then printed four new signatures, Qq4, Rr4, †4 and ††4. The first two contain new plants, with illustrations; the third and fourth have "Formulae Rondelletii." Finally he added 20 leaves, *4-5*4, with an index to the combined *Historia* and *Adversaria*, followed by three pages of text and illustration. His colophon appears at the end.

Even the sale of 800 copies to Plantin did not exhaust Purfoot's stock of *Adversaria*. In 1605 he finally brought out the second part promised by the engraved title page of 1570. This contains Rondelet's Pharmacopoeia and some minor works by de l'Obel. It is signed ¶4, A6-N6; [viii], 156 pages. The title page is adorned with the woodcut arms of James I, for de l'Obel was botanist to that monarch. The title was *In G. Rondelleti Pharmaceuticam Officinam Animadversiones*.⁵ To this he added the original sheets of *Adversaria* printed thirty-five years earlier in 1570-1571, but with a new title, *Dilucidae Simplicium Medicamentorum Explicationes*. The engraved title page and the dedication

⁴ Max Rooses. *Christophe Plantin, Imprimeur Anverois*, p. 333.

⁵ STC 16650.

to Queen Elizabeth were discarded and the preface was abridged as it had been in Plantin's issue of 1576 to fit a single leaf, but the original index was retained.

In order to make the work appear new, the leaf after Pp6 with the colophon was canceled. Additional sheets, Qq6-Zz6, were printed with text and illustrations of new plants. The text of Pp6†1 was retained on Qq1, but without illustrations because the woodblocks were in Plantin's hands. Purfoot's 1605 colophon is on the verso of Qq1. Zz6 is blank. There are two settings of page 465. In one the upper woodcut is at the righthand side of the page. In the other both cuts are at the left and the text has been reset.

This issue has caused some confusion to cataloguers because *Dilucidae* is occasionally bound before Rondelet and the book is therefore listed under that title. Bishop records nine copies, with others in private collections. It is not a rare book.

In spite of these three offerings, Purfoot still seemed unable to dispose of his stock, for in 1618 Jan Maire of Leyden published Purfoot's 1605 issue under a fourth title, *Pharmacopoeia Rondellettii*. Except for the title page, this was merely a reissue of STC 16650. Purfoot's colophons remained in the book. This final issue appears to be scarce. No copy is recorded in the National Union Catalog, and it does not appear in the printed catalogues of the British Museum or the Bibliothèque Nationale. The writer has a copy of this as well as of the three earlier issues.

Here then we have a book of considerable interest and lasting importance that appeared four times under four different titles over a period of forty-eight years. It required three publishers in three different cities to liquidate Purfoot's stock. Some fresh material was added in 1576 and 1605, but the greater part of each of the three later issues was made up from sheets printed long before in 1570-1571. Such persistent efforts to dispose of an initial printing are unusual in the annals of publishing.

Bibliographical Notes

Walt Whitman's Short Stories: Some Comments and a Bibliography

Everyone knows that Walt Whitman was a poet, and a few that he was connected with several newspapers in his early days; but only a handful consider him a short story writer as well. The Whitman specialist, however, knows of the nine short stories printed under "Pieces in Early Youth" in Whitman's *Specimen Days and Collect* (Philadelphia, Rees Welsh & Co., 1882-1883, pp. 340-371); about the same number in Emory Holloway's edition of *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman* (Garden City, N. Y., and Toronto, Doubleday, Page & Company, 1921, 2 volumes), and the five in *The Half-Breed and Other Stories by Walt Whitman*, collected by Thomas Ollive Mabbott (New York, Columbia University Press, 1927).¹ Then there is Whitman's long narrative, *Franklin Evans*, first printed in the periodical *New World* in November 1842, reprinted in the *Brooklyn Eagle* four years later, and issued as a book long after his death by Random House in 1929.

Nine of these short stories, those which Whitman himself reprinted in *Specimen Days*, were included in the ten-volume edition of *The Complete Writings* (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902). All of them—24 short stories or pieces of fiction, including five brief narratives under "Some Fact-Romances"—have never been collected, but it is planned to use them, with *Franklin Evans*, as one of the volumes in the forthcoming *Writings of Walt Whitman*, now in preparation for the New York University Press. There is no checklist of them, though much of the material is listed, with periodical articles and newspaper writings of all sorts, under "Prose" in the *Cambridge History of American Literature* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons; Cambridge, England, University Press, 1918, II, 558-562). And Nouvart Tashjian's NYU pamphlet *Index to Early American Periodical Literature, 1728-1870: No. 3. Walt Whitman*

¹ The spine label reads, "Stories by W.W.," and on the front cover and half-title is "Short Stories by Walt Whitman," which has led to a certain confusion over the title.

(New York, Pamphlet Distributing Co., 1941, p. 6) lists 16 of the stories, but the information is not complete.

As poor as these pieces of fiction are, they are part of Whitman's development as a writer; yet no critical attention has been paid them beyond Professor Mabbott's introduction to *The Half-Breed* (pp. 11-19), Professor Holloway's introduction to *Franklin Evans* (pp. v-xxiv), and such remarks as Whitman biographers and scholars have made in passing. Bliss Perry, in *Walt Whitman* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1906, pp. 23-29), for example, says that "The Angel of Tears" is "chiefly interesting as proving how very neatly the young journalist could play, if need be, upon the flute of Edgar Allan Poe," that "A Legend of Life and Love" is "a thin little tale," that Whitman himself wrote in later life, "My serious wish were to have all those crude and boyish pieces quietly dropp'd in oblivion," and that none of this early prose

possesses any high degree of literary merit. But it is marked by a strong, ethical sense and especially by sympathy with the poor and suffering. Though feeble in construction and weakened by that tendency to the lachrymose and the melodramatic which few American tales of 1840-1850 managed to escape, his stories show a hatred of cruelty and injustice, and a rightmindedness toward the common people, which makes them interesting indications of what was going on in Whitman's mind. Poe is the only contemporary whose style he seems to imitate. "One Wicked Impulse" and "The Child and the Profligate" are perhaps the most characteristic productions, but compared with the vigorous pages of Whitman's later prose the best of this earlier sort are but shadows.

Emory Holloway, in *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose* (pp. lxxii-lxxiv), writes:

In fiction and other narrative Whitman was rather less successful than he was in the essay or sketch form. He could make a rough drawing of a type, but he could not delineate a character. Moreover, the incubus of a puritan purpose marred nearly every bit of fiction he ever wrote. This betrayed him into neglecting his plots and the dramatic qualities of his stories, even though he did sometimes imitate Poe to the extent of seeking unity of impression. The artist could never emancipate himself completely from the preacher and propagandist.

This critic calls "The Shadow and the Light of a Young Man's Soul" "difficult reading, so full is it of puerile moralizing," "A Legend of Life and Love" "without a single artistic touch to ameliorate its platitudes," and says the fanciful "Eris; a Spirit Record" and "The Angel of Tears," "for any intrinsic value, deserved to die in the age of sighs that gave them

birth." Earlier, Professor Holloway had remarked in the *CHAL* (II, 262n) that these "early pieces written in New York reflect the wave of sentimentality which was, in the forties, sweeping over the country, and display, along with their humanitarian feeling, a fondness for melodramatic extravagance which caused him later to wish them all 'quietly dropp'd in oblivion.' "

Floyd Stovall, in *Walt Whitman: Representative Selections* (New York [etc.], American Book Company, 1934, pp. xx-xxi), sums up:

The vapid moralizing of his [early] essays and the sentimental didacticism of his stories are in the worst tradition of American popular literature. At their best, the tales are watery imitations of Poe and Hawthorne. His long temperance "novel," *Franklin Evans*, is a pot-boiler written by a capable journalist without the least talent as a novelist. The main themes of these stories, love and death, are also important in *Leaves of Grass*, but in the stories everything is morbid and fanciful, whereas in the poems everything is wholesome and natural.

Henry Seidel Canby, in *Walt Whitman: An American* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943, pp. 39-41), quotes Whitman as saying that "Death in the School-Room" and other stories in *The Democratic Review* had received "public favor" and been "pretty popular." To which Canby replies:

"Pretty terrible" would be a more accurate term. . . . His prose and verse [in the early forties] is conventional or imitative, with a superficial sophistication and the bluff of being wise and literary so characteristic of half-educated youth. At any moment it may break into crude coltishness, as for example in his Indian stories written in a kind of post-Cooperian jargon that is distressing. Whitman's work of this kind contains some foreshadowings of his obsession with death, a strong charge of humanitarianism, and some vague autobiographical references out of which biographers have probably made too much. Saying that, one says all. . . . [To] a literary historian, the spectacle of a great poet turning out trash while both perilous stuff and intense emotion must have been stirring in his depths, is most interesting.

Of *Franklin Evans* Canby remarks that "Whitman's gift was not for storytelling—he could never by any possibility have become 'one of the best novelists of this country' " (as the novel's blurb stated); and when Whitman writes of the South, Canby says " 'melodramatic' is too weak a word to describe its incidents and characters, 'sentimental' too mild to define its morality, and 'tripe' too gentle a name for its eloquence." Canby's final verdict is that Whitman "was a bad hack writer even according to the low standards of really popular writing of the time."

One final scholar, Gay Wilson Allen, in *The Solitary Singer: A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1955), is more concerned with what Whitman's short stories are about and their relationship to his life than he is with making critical comments on them. Professor Allen does say, however, that John L. O'Sullivan, founder of the *United States and Democratic Review*, "thought his readers liked . . . 'Death in the Schoolroom'"; and that Whitman "seemed to have almost a compulsion to write about cruel fathers" (p. 44). He also disputes the Holloway and Perry opinions that "The Angel of Tears" is "Poesque," and calls the moral of "A Legend of Life and Love" "trite" (p. 56). The story of *Franklin Evans's* composition is retold, including Whitman's old-age statement when he was ashamed of the novel: "It was damned rot—rot of the worst sort—not insincere, perhaps, but rot, nevertheless . . ." (p. 57). "Revenge and Requital" Professor Allen regards as "another crude piece of temperance fiction" (p. 66).

Despite these harsh though undoubtedly valid opinions, a fairly complete listing of Whitman's short stories is here given for the collector, the bibliographer, and the scholar interested in tracing the creator of *Leaves of Grass* through his early days in New York journalism of the 1840's.

Full bibliographical data of the books cited are given either in the comments above or the first time the volume is listed below. The full title of the periodical when Whitman wrote for it was *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, which I give, for the sake of brevity, as *Democratic Review*.

"The Angel of Tears," *Democratic Review*, XI (September 1842), 282-284.

[Reprinted in the *Brooklyn Evening Standard*, 28 February 1846, *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, 83-86.]

"Arrow-Tip," *The Aristidean*, I (March 1845), 36-64: [Reprinted, with variations, as "The Half-Breed: A Tale of the Western Frontier," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1-6, 8, 9 June 1846; *The Half-Breed and Other Stories*, pp. 23-76. See *American Mercury*, II (June 1924), 205-206.]

"Bervance; or, Father and Son," *Democratic Review*, IX (December 1841), 560-568. [Reprinted in *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, 52-60.]

"The Boy Lover," *American Review*, I (May 1845), 479-482. [Reprinted in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 4-5 January 1848; *Specimen Days and Collect*, pp. 357-361; *Complete Prose Works: Specimen Days and Collect, November Boughs and Good Bye My Fancy* (Boston, Small, Maynard & Company, 1901), pp. 354-359; *Complete Writings*, VI, 49-60. The other editions of Whitman, containing *Specimen Days and Collect* under *Complete Prose*, are not listed in this bibliography. All stories in *Collect* were revised, at least slightly, by Whitman.]

- "The Child and the Profligate." See "The Child's Champion."
- "The Child-Ghost; a Story of the Last Loyalist," *Democratic Review*, X (May 1842), 451-459. [Reprinted, revised, as "The Last Loyalist," *Specimen Days and Collect*, pp. 349-353; *Complete Prose Works*, pp. 345-350; *Complete Writings*, VI, 28-38.]
- "The Child's Champion," *New World*, III (20 November 1841), 321-322. [Reprinted as "The Child and the Profligate," *Columbian Magazine*, II (October 1844), 149-153; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 27-29 January 1847; *Specimen Days and Collect*, pp. 361-366; *Complete Prose Works*, pp. 359-365; *Complete Writings*, VI, 60-73.]
- "Death in the School-Room: A Fact," *Democratic Review*, IX (August 1841), 177-181. [Reprinted in the *Long Island Farmer*, 10 August 1841; as "Death in the School Room," *Ladies Garland*, V (September 1841), 73-75; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 24 December 1847; as "Death in the School-Room (A Fact)," *Specimen Days and Collect*, pp. 340-344; *Complete Prose Works*, pp. 336-340; *Complete Writings*, VI, 5-15.]
- "The Death of Wind-Foot," *American Review*, I (June 1845), 639-642. [Originally printed, with some minor differences, as an imbedded story in "Franklin Evans," chapter 2—see below. It appears in reprints of "Franklin Evans," but not in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* version.]
- "Dumb Kate; Story of an Early Death," *Columbian Magazine*, I (May 1844), 230-231. [Reprinted in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 13 July 1846; as "Dumb Kate" in *Specimen Days and Collect*, pp. 370-371; *Complete Prose Works*, pp. 370-371; *Complete Writings*, VI, 85-88.]
- "Eris; a Spirit Record," *Columbian Magazine*, I (March 1844), 138-139. [Reprinted as "The Love of Eris: A Spirit Record," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 18 August 1846; *The Gathering of the Forces . . .*, edited by Cleveland Rodgers and John Black (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920), II, 369-376; *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, 86-89.]
- "A Fact-Romance of Long Island." See "Some Fact-Romances."
- "Franklin Evans; or, The Inebriate: A Tale of the 'Times,'" *New World*, II (No. 10, extra number, November 1842), 1-31. [Reprinted as "off-print from The New World. Franklin Evans: Knowledge is Power. The Merchant's Clerk, in New York; or Career as a Young Man from the Country" (New York, J. Winchester, n.d. 1842?); as "The Fortunes of a Country-Boy: A Tale of Long-Island; Incidents in Town—and his Adventures at the South," by J. R. S., without the introduction and conclusion and the imbedded tales in chapters 2 and 14, as well as the mottoes of other chapters, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 16-30 November 1846; in full with its original title, *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, II, 103-221; and as a book, with an introduction by Emory Holloway (New York, Random House, 1929), xxiv, 249 pp.]

- "The Half-Breed." See "Arrow-Tip."
- "An Incident in Long Island Forty Years Ago." See "Some Fact-Romances."
- "The Last Loyalist." See "The Child-Ghost."
- "The Last of the Sacred Army," *Democratic Review*, X (March 1842), 259-264. [Reprinted in the *Democratic Review*, XXIX (November 1851), 463-466; *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, 72-78.]
- "A Legend of Life and Love," *Democratic Review*, XI (July 1842), 83-86. [Reprinted in the *New York Tribune*, 6 July 1842; *Brother Jonathan*, II (9 July 1842), 304-305; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 11 June 1846; *Gathering of the Forces*, II, 377-386; *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, 78-83.]
- "Lingave's Temptation," place and date of first publication unknown. [Clipping, with Whitman's corrections for use in *Collect*, in the Feinberg Collection, Detroit. Reprinted in *Specimen Days and Collect*, pp. 366-368; *Complete Prose Works*, pp. 365-368; *Complete Writings*, VI, 73-80.]
- "Little Jane," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 7 December 1846. [Originally printed as an imbedded story in "Franklin Evans," chapter 14—see above. It appears in reprints of "Franklin Evans," but not in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* version. Reprinted as "Little Jane" in *Specimen Days and Collect*, pp. 369-370; *Complete Prose Works*, pp. 368-370; *Complete Writings*, VI, 80-85.]
- "The Little Sleighers; A Sketch of a Winter Morning on the Battery," *Columbian Magazine*, II (September 1844), 113-114. [Reprinted in *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, 90-92.]
- "The Love of Eris: A Spirit Record." See "Eris; a Spirit Record."
- "My Boys and Girls," *The Rover*, III (20 April 1844), 75. [Reprinted in *The Half-Breed and Other Stories*, pp. 109-113.]
- "A Night at the Terpsichore Ball," by "You Know Who," *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, 18 May 1848. [Reprinted in Emory Holloway, "Walt Whitman in New Orleans," *Yale Review*, V (October 1915), 180-182; *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, 225-228.]
- "The Old Black Widow." See "Some Fact-Romances."
- "One Wicked Impulse!" See "Revenge and Requital; a Tale of a Murderer Escaped."
- "Revenge and Requital; a Tale of a Murderer Escaped," *Democratic Review*, XVII (July-August 1845), 105-111. [Reprinted as "One Wicked Impulse!" *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 7-9 September 1846; *Specimen Days and Collect*, pp. 344-349; *Complete Prose Works*, pp. 340-345; *Complete Writings*, VI, 15-28. In the reprinted version the ending has been revised, the story shortened and made less sentimental.]
- "Richard Parker's Widow," *The Aristidean*, I (April 1845), 111-114. [Reprinted in *Crystal Fount and Rechabite Recorder* (New York), V (1845), 81-84; *The Half-Breed and Other Stories*, pp. 89-97.]
- "The Shadow and the Light of a Young Man's Soul," *Union Magazine* of

- Literature and Art*, II (June 1848), 280-281. [Reprinted in *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, 229-234.]
- "Shirval: A Tale of Jerusalem," *The Aristidean*, I (March 1845), 12-15. [Reprinted in *The Half-Breed and Other Stories*, pp. 81-85. Corrected and pagged by Whitman for use in *Collect*—see clipping in the Feinberg Collection—this story was not in the published *Specimen Days and Collect*.]
- "Some Fact-Romances," *The Aristidean*, I (December 1845), 444-449. [Introduction and five brief narratives. Reprintings: I—with some revision as "A Fact-Romance of Long Island," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 16 December 1846; *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, 146-147; II—with a few corrections as "The Old Black Widow," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 12 November 1846; *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, 138-139; III—*The Half-Breed and Other Stories*, pp. 102-103; IV—Thomas Ollive Mabbott, "Walt Whitman and *The Aristidean*," *American Mercury*, II (June 1924), 206-207; *The Half-Breed and Other Stories*, p. 104; V—as "An Incident of Long Island Forty Years Ago," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 24 December 1846; *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, 149-151.]
- "The Tomb-Blossoms," *Democratic Review*, X (January 1842), 62-68. [Reprinted in *Voices from the Press; A Collection of Sketches, Essays, and Poems*, by practical printers, edited by James J. Brenton (New York, Charles B. Norton, 1850), pp. 27-38; with illustrations, in the *Philadelphia Press*, 23 October 1892; *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, 60-67.]
- "Wild Frank's Return," *Democratic Review*, IX (November 1841), 476-482. [Reprinted in the *Long Island Farmer*, 11 January 1842; *Specimen Days and Collect*, pp. 353-357; *Complete Prose Works*, 350-354; *Complete Writings*, VI, 39-49.]

WILLIAM WHITE

Wayne State University

The First Trans-Mississippi Imprint

The book which has long been accepted by bibliographers as the first book printed west of the Mississippi River is¹

The Laws of the Territory of Louisiana. Comprising All Those Which Are Now Actually in Force Within the Same. Published by Authority. St. Louis [L.] Printed by Joseph Charless, Printer to the Territory, 1808. 376, [58] p. 13 x 20.5 cm.

This book, however, was not published in 1808, but rather in May, 1809, and, contrary to generally held opinion, was not the first book to appear

¹ Historical Records Survey, *Preliminary Check List of Missouri Imprints, 1808-1850* (Washington, 1937), p. 5.

west of the Mississippi, but was at best the second and possibly the third.

Joseph Charless had printed in Pennsylvania and Kentucky, and possibly in Ireland, prior to his removal to the newly acquired Louisiana Territory in the early summer of 1808. Having first been given a contract for all territorial printing, he brought a case or two of type to St. Louis from his Louisville printing office, and he ordered a Ramage press to be sent out by keelboat from Pennsylvania. With the assistance of one journeyman printer he had his St. Louis office in full operation by July 12, 1808, when the first issue of his weekly *Missouri Gazette* appeared.² Unfortunately, copies of neither the first nor the second numbers of this important newspaper have been preserved.

Charless began work immediately setting type for his first official task, the publishing of the laws of the territory. An early entry in the account book of the territorial governor, Meriwether Lewis, is dated July 22, 1808, and records an order on the Secretary of State in favor of Joseph Charless in the amount of \$500.00, "it being an advance to said Charless for furnishing paper and publishing the laws of the territory 250 copies in English & 100 in French."³ That Charless was hard at work on the book is later manifested by his explanation in the *Gazette* of November 16 that work on the *Laws* hampered his work on the newspaper. "So soon as the Laws of the Territory are printed," he promised his 175 odd subscribers, "he [the editor] will issue the Gazette on a full sized royal sheet, and trusts that his exertions will render it equal in appearance and utility to any paper in the Western Country." At this time the *Gazette* was being printed on a foolscap sheet folio.

Having begun the work in July, Charless was optimistic that he could finish it before the end of the year. The title page, which bears the date 1808, is signature [A 1^r], and there being no other preliminary matter, the first law begins on signature A 2^r. This, of course, indicates that since the first sheet contains an integral part of the text as well as the imprint date, the title page must have been set first rather than, as was more often done, last. Since a small frontier printing office could hardly have possessed enough type to keep much of it standing any longer than was absolutely necessary, the impressions were probably worked off as soon after composition as possible.

² Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Early Career of Joseph Charless, the First Printer in Missouri* (Columbia, Mo., 1932), *passim*. The present author is preparing a thorough study of the life and work of this interesting and important editor-printer-publisher.

³ The Meriwether Lewis manuscript account book is preserved in the Missouri Historical Society, and is quoted here by permission.

Charless was over-sanguine, however, in his plans to complete the book in 1808. In the *Gazette* of January 4, 1809, the editor reminded readers of his promise to increase the size of the paper "as soon as the laws of this territory were printed," implying that work on the book still stood in the way of its fulfillment. On March 29, 1809, he again promised that "in a few weeks it [the *Gazette*] will appear on a large sheet."

The *Laws of the Territory* must have made its belated appearance in May. The issue of the *Gazette* for April 26 is on a foolscap sheet, and that for May 24, the next extant issue, is at last on the much-promised large paper, not quite a royal sheet, but a full-sized demy sheet folio. Also pointing to a date of publication sometime in May is the certificate printed on page 373 of the *Laws*, signed by the Secretary of Louisiana, attesting that the foregoing printed text was "compared and found literally conformable with the originals." This certificate is dated April 29, 1809, and, as did the title page, shares a gathering with an integral part of the text, proving that it could not have been added later. Further evidence that the work was finished in May is another entry in the Meriwether Lewis account book, this one dated May 5, 1809. It records an additional payment to Charless of \$822.00 "for printing the laws of the Territory Genl Orders Blanks for the returns of Militia &c &c," implying that the tasks were by that time completed.

If Charless ever printed the *Laws* in French, as the Lewis account book seems to indicate he had been commissioned to do, no copy or other record of the work seems to have survived. Charless frequently printed French advertisements and announcements in the *Gazette*, and so it is known that he had a complete fount of type with requisite accent marks. In the *Gazette* for December 21, 1809, he proposed publishing a French weekly newspaper to be named *La Mouche du Ouest*, but his proposal appears to have solicited little support from the community. Three months later he proposed publication of a *Gazette de la Louisiane* if one hundred people would subscribe, but this project also appears to have come to naught. These attempts to establish an active French press could mean that his French types were then available for use following their having been tied up on some major project such as a French edition of the *Laws*. But there is no positive evidence of the work ever having appeared.

If the *Laws* in English appeared then in May, 1809, another work had preceded it. On December 14 and 21, 1808, the *Missouri Gazette* advertised as being "For Sale at This Office, An Act regulating the fiscal concerns of the Territory, defining the duties of certain officers con-

cerned therewith, and for other purposes." This was in fact a pre-print of pages 349 to 371 of the *Laws of the Territory*. Unfortunately, no copies of this separately published act are known to exist today. Owners of the pre-print probably found no need to retain copies when the act was republished in the complete *Laws* five months later. It was probably for the separate publication of this act that the Lewis account book records under the date December 28, 1808, a payment to Charless of \$88.75 "for printing certain laws of the territory necessary for immediate distribution." There are no other separately issued acts advertised in the *Gazette*, and it is consequently probable that this act was the first book published west of the Mississippi.

Although it cannot now be proved, it does not seem unreasonable that yet another booklet may have preceded the *Laws* from Charless' press. Frederick Bates, Secretary of Louisiana, delivered an oration before St. Louis Lodge, No. 111 [11?] on November 9, 1808, and the Lodge, of which Charless was a member, resolved that the oration be printed. It exists today in two known copies bearing the imprint date 1809. It may be asked whether Mason Charless found it necessary to defer printing this nineteen-page oration for six months until the *Laws* were completed, or if he might not have found time to complete it earlier in the year 1809, in which case it would have been the second trans-Mississippi imprint.

DAVID KASER

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Dylan Thomas and A. E. Housman

At first glance Dylan Thomas (1914-1953) and A. E. Housman (1859-1936) would appear to have little in common save that each was a poet and each wrote in English: there the resemblance ends. Housman may never have read Thomas, for he died before the Welsh bard's fame really began; Thomas undoubtedly read *A Shropshire Lad* and the other A. E. H. lyrics. Now, among the younger poet's MSS there has turned up a Housman verse copied out in Thomas's hand from either *Memories of A. E. Housman* (Bath, 1936, p. 4), by Mrs. E. W. Symons, or *The Penguin Book of Comic and Curious Verse* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1952, p. 240), collected by J. M. Cohen. Another and different version of the piece appears in Laurence Housman's *A. E. H.* (London, 1937,

p. 236). In Dylan Thomas's unmistakable script, the quatrain reads:

Infant Innocence

by

A. E. Housman

The Grizzly Bear is huge & wild;
He has devoured the infant child.
The infant child is not aware
He has been eaten by the bear.

In the collection of Mr. Charles E. Feinberg of Detroit, this copy of the nonsense verse is written in blue ink on a 7¼-by-10 inch sheet of lined paper torn from a notebook. It is the only writing on the page. Except for the ampersand in place of "and" in line 1, the "Ruthless Rhyme" is exactly as it is printed in Mrs. Symons' pamphlet (a reprint from a school magazine). My copy of the Cohen anthology does not have a semicolon at the end of line 1, which might lead one to believe Thomas got the verse from the rather obscure little booklet.

Anyone knowing Thomas can see why the lines appealed to him, but it is, I think, unusual that he should single out and write down this one verse by Housman from perhaps a rare source.

WILLIAM WHITE

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*A Note on Early Impressions of Ellen Glasgow's
"They Stooped to Folly"*

A classification of the first four American impressions of Ellen Glasgow's *They Stooped to Folly* based on information from title leaves¹ would require the following order:

1ST IMPRESSION, 1929.

Title page: The Old Dominion Edition | of the works of | Ellen Glasgow |
They Stooped to Folly | A Comedy of Morals | Printed in Garden City, New
York, | at the Country Life Press, 1929. | Doubleday, | Doran | & | Company,
Inc.

2ND IMPRESSION, 1929.

Title page: in blue and black.

¹ The title leaves of all four impressions are inserts.

Imprint: MCMXXIX | The Literary Guild | New York

Verso of title page: | First Edition | After printing of three thousand | copies for the Old Dominion Edition |

3RD IMPRESSION, 1929.²

Title page: in orange and black.

Imprint: MCMXXIX | Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc. | Garden City, New York

Verso of title page: same as 2nd impression.

4TH IMPRESSION, 1929.

Title page: same as 3rd impression.

Imprint: same as 2nd impression.

Verso of title page: omits "First Edition" etc.

However, collation of these impressions proves that such an order is incorrect. Type damage within the first American setting, to which all of these impressions belong, establishes the correct order:

Page	Damage	"First Ed." <i>Lit. Guild</i>	"First Ed." <i>Doubleday</i>	<i>Doubleday</i>	<i>Old Dominion</i>
21	last line		x	x	x
22	couldn't		x	x	x
26	My		x	x	x
	night			x	x
	at			x	x
27	your		x	x	x
	thing		x	x	x
29	numeral			x	x
	move			x	x
31	life				x
32	left side				x
34	ll. 8 & 9			?	x
52	top right		x	x	x
54	with		x	x	x
56	numeral	x	x	Replaced	Replaced
	bar		x	x	x
	ideals		x	x	x
57	Mother			x	x
64	its			x	x

² The information from title leaves would not justify the distinction made between the second and third impressions here. The order could be just the opposite, or both could be issues of the same impression, or one might be a first impression from a duplicate set of plates. The distinction is made for convenience.

69	a			x	x
87	weary	x	x	Replaced	Replaced
143	were			x	x
153	from			x	x

No case of identifiable type damage was found which contradicts the order demonstrated by this table, and one piece of evidence supports it in part. The second line on the dedication page reads, “. . . in acknowledgement of something about Eve . . .” in the Literary Guild impression and is corrected to “. . . Something About Eve . . .” in the other impressions. Since damage common to all impressions indicates the use of only one set of plates, it is reasonable to assume that the Literary Guild impression is prior to any of the impressions containing the corrected reading.³

OLIVER L. STEELE

University of Virginia

³ I wish to thank Mr. John C. Wyllie for his generous help.

Book Reviews

SKEEL, EMILY ELLSWORTH, *comp.* *A Bibliography of The Writings of Noah Webster*. Edited by Edwin H. Carpenter, Jr. New York, The New York Public Library, 1958. xxix, 655 pp. Facsim. 10½ x 7 inches. Edition of 500 copies. \$12.50.

"We have listened too long to the courtly muses of Europe," said Emerson in his Phi Beta Kappa address, *The American Scholar*, delivered at Harvard in 1837. And his audience, it is said, received these sentiments with great enthusiasm. Years before this, however, in 1783, the young schoolmaster Noah Webster had insisted that "America must be as independent in literature as she is in politics, as famous for arts as for arms." One way in which Webster envisioned the achievement of this goal was by means of language since, as he wrote to Timothy Pickering on May 25, 1786, "A national language is a national tie, and what country wants it more than America?"

A major force in cultural nationalism, Webster dedicated himself to the proper spelling of an "American" language, or, as he phrased it, "to introduce order and regularity into the orthography of the American tongue." The astonishing number of sales of the blue-back spelling book which first appeared in 1783—some 200,000 copies annually by 1807 and a total, by 1837, according to Webster, of 15,000,000 copies—attests to the success of his ambitions. Unquestionably, his dictionaries were also instrumental in standardizing American speech, even though pronunciation among Americans varied from good to bad (and enough of the latter, at least, to prompt Frances Trollope to observe sarcastically that "We really must engage a few American professors, or we shall lose all trace of classic purity in our language.").

Important as language was to him, Webster did not limit himself to his dictionaries and spelling books. He wrote on many topics and indeed continued to do so shortly before his death. His interests were broad, extending as they did from epidemiology and statistics to sturdy controversies in politics and religion. Webster's membership in various institutions

and societies produced, inevitably, considering his energy, a flow of imprints.

Clearly, the writings of such an industrious man were numerous, and the record of his industry in print, lengthy. In view of this the project of a bibliography of his writings is a genuine tribute to the very real affection and respect felt for Webster by the compiler, his great-granddaughter, the late Emily Ellsworth (Ford) Skeel. The first systematic effort completely to record the writings of Webster was undertaken by Mrs. Skeel and her brother Paul Leicester Ford; the two young Fords, as a Christmas gift to their father in 1882, compiled a list which was based on Gordon Ford's collection, some of which included Webster's own copies of his works.

When Emily Skeel edited *Notes on the Life of Noah Webster*, which had been compiled by her mother, Emily Ellsworth Ford, and printed them in 1912, she included the checklist of 1882. A suggestion from Wilberforce Eames, however, encouraged her to assemble as complete a bibliography as possible. It is doubtful that Mrs. Skeel realized the magnitude of the project before her, but as she said she "pursued . . . with only inner misgivings. . . ." The number of editions of Webster's works had, of course, increased and, correspondingly, her notes. Despite this, Mrs. Skeel continued her efforts, although, as she modestly put it, "untrained in the infinite and delicate precisions of modern bibliography." Regrettably, various obstacles delayed the publication of her work, which was planned to appear in 1940, and the delay prompted her to contemplate issuing a mere list of editions. By this time ill health had further thwarted her plans, and finally Mrs. Skeel placed the material which she had collected in the New York Public Library. It was natural enough for this institution to set about completing Mrs. Skeel's work, since the most numerous and significant copies of Websteriana—most of it from the Ford family—are in that Library.

What began, then, as a thoughtful gesture at Christmastime in 1882 developed, as Mrs. Skeel came to admire the man who was Noah Webster, into a work of tribute to his character and industry, culminating in this bibliography ably edited by Dr. Edwin H. Carpenter, Jr., presently editor of the California Historical Society.

There are nine major sections in the *Bibliography*: Webster's famous Speller, *The Grammatical Institute*; *Other Text Books*; *Dictionaries*; *Philological, Didactic and Religious Works*; *Political Works*; *Published Speeches*; *Miscellaneous Works*; *Works Edited by Webster*; and, finally, *Periodicals*,

the latter subdivided into those edited by Webster; his contributions to the Proceedings of Learned Societies; his contributions to other periodicals, and newspaper controversies involving him. (The last of these "newspaper controversies involving Webster" largely concerned his disputes with Lyman Cobb, like Webster a schoolmaster and the compiler of spelling books, which he diligently attempted to market. Webster on one occasion castigated Cobb as an ". . . illiterate, but a most plodding fellow. . . .")

In eleven appendices are listed such varied items as the corporate writings by, or probably by Webster; his lectures and speeches; his unfinished and unpublished works; and even an annotated listing of the portraits and statues of him. Most interesting and useful is a geographical dictionary of printers, publishers, booksellers, stereotypers, etc. which appears on pages 601 through 615.

The arrangement projected by Mrs. Skeel has been generally adhered to by Dr. Carpenter. Thus, in noting the criteria for establishment of entries the editor has recorded copies of the same text as different editions only if the year, city, publisher or printer differ on the title page. Similarly, copies of the same text are recorded as different editions when the pagination differs, or there is evidence of a type resetting or recasting of all, or a portion, of the stereotype plates. It is interesting to observe that the editor has not indicated different sizes and faces of type, nor line endings or ornaments, unless, without these differences, it would be impossible to distinguish between identical wordings. (Dr. Carpenter made the decision to adopt, for the title entries, the Library of Congress system of minimum capitalization, and this represents his choice as against that of Mrs. Skeel.)

Nearly all of the titles are, however, uncharacterized by true collation by signature marks or by folding, because Mrs. Skeel did not record these in her compilation and Dr. Carpenter chose to omit them also. Since, as the editor states, most of the listed works were stereotyped and of recent enough vintage to eliminate the importance attached in earlier centuries to signaturing and folding, his decision seems justified.

Wherever necessary the current practice of not recording initial roman pagination is followed when it forms part of the same numerical sequence as the arabic pagination.

The absence of an indication of the original binding in describing the books obviously has troubled the editor. Fortunately, the spellers, grammars and readers which represent most of Webster's works had standard

publisher's bindings. As a matter of fact, the standard binding of the time consisted of thin pieces of wood covered with paper, usually blue; hence "the blue-back speller." In such instances where another kind of binding is known, this fact is noted.

In comparison with other sources, the location of copies of Webster's works is unusually complete in this *Bibliography*, and indeed many previous errors in location have been corrected.

The typography is excellent; the binding sturdy and attractive. Illustrations and a useful index further enhance the value of the book.

It is altogether fitting that this *Bibliography* should appear during the year when the bicentennial of Noah Webster's birth is observed. The 803 entries (the last of which is a general gathering of Webster's known or attributed contributions to periodicals, some items about, but not by him; and articles and advertising matter concerning his works) represent the fulfillment of a task begun many years ago. To the compiler it was, as Mrs. Skeel wrote, "a source of unending pleasure"; to the editor its significance and thoroughness must surely instill a similar pleasure; and the reader cannot but share this feeling, of sentiment mingled with admiration.

JAMES J. HESLIN

The New-York Historical Society

MOTT, FRANK LUTHER. *A History of American Magazines 1885-1905*. [Device in red] Cambridge, Mass., The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957. xvii, 858 pp. Plates. 9 x 5¾ inches. \$12.50.

Dr. Mott's fascinating chronicle of American politics, literature, drama, sports, and manners and customs in general as reflected in the periodical literature of the time now falls within the memory of living men—and women as well. *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *McCall's*, *Vogue*, and *Woman's Home Companion* comprise four of the thirty-four terminal "Sketches of Certain Important Magazines Which Flourished 1885-1905," as some of them continue to do. The *Saturday Evening Post*, passed over in the first three volumes (which are in print again) appears in this one. *Everybody's Magazine* has been postponed to the next volume. The interest of Volume Four is greatly enhanced by its lively quotations and choice of illustrations.

Some corrections might well be made in the next printing. Besides

numerous minor misprints ("feature" for feature, "arleady" for already, "guage" for gauge, etc.) and such obvious errors as David "Ghaham" Phillips and Jerome K. "Kerome," Finley Peter Dunne appears as Peter Finley Dunne. Also noted: Francis James "Childs" for Child (also in Index); "Eleanora" Duse for Eleonora; "Fanny" Hurst for Fannie; Lyman "Abbot" for Abbott; "Vickie" Baum for Vicki; "Carrie" Nation for Carry A. Nation; "Raphael" Sabatini for Rafael; Mitchell "Kennerly" for Kennerley; "Helen" Huntington Smith for Helena; "Mackinlay" Kantor for MacKinlay; Percy "Mackaye" for MacKaye; "Gellet" Burgess for Gelett; Ellis "Paxon" Oberholtzer for Paxson; "Vina" Delmar for Viña; Marie "Correlli" for Corelli; "George" Brandes for Georg; "Fitzgerald" for FitzGerald; "Issac" Marcossou for Isaac; Enos "Mill" for Mills. Hamlin Garland's *Roadside Meetings* is called "Broadside Meetings" (p. 407); H. G. Wells's *The First Men in the Moon*, "The First Man in the Moon" (p. 490). George Horace Lorimer did not die "after a short illness with pneumonia," but after a painful siege with cancer of the throat. A footnote on p. 106 declares that "The May 1918 [*sic*] issue was on the presses at the time of the [San Francisco] earthquake and fire, and the *Sunset* building was destroyed." The issue of *Sunset* in question, when examined at the New York Public Library, proved to be May 1906. "English actors were prominent on the American stage—Booth, Irving, Tree, Ellen Terry, and so on" (p. 226). The Index refers to this Booth as Edwin, who is usually considered to be an American actor. (He was born in Maryland.) But it is not surprising to find a few slips in a book which lists so many names, titles and "peridocials" (*sic*, p. 207) as this volume does.

EARLE F. WALBRIDGE

New York University

KASER, DAVID. *Messrs. Carey & Lea of Philadelphia. A Study in the History of the Booktrade* [Cut] Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, [1957]. 182 pp. Plates. 8½ x 5½ inches. \$4.00.

By no means have all the records of American publishing firms survived the pressure which the demands for storage room have created through the years; and even where documents have been preserved, some publishing companies were long reluctant to yield up, for purposes of research, what records they did possess. It is, therefore, heartening to see

so many cost books and other official papers now being released for the use of those scholars who of late years have become eager to reconstruct the history of the American booktrade. The extant records of Carey and Lea had already found their way into the archives of three learned institutions when David Kaser began his research some years ago: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the American Antiquarian Society, and the William L. Clements Library. A study of Dr. Kaser's bibliography and notes reveals the countless books, magazines, and newspapers that the author used to supplement his primary documents. Three articles and notes which Dr. Kaser contributed in 1956 and 1957 to these PAPERS had anticipated the book now under review.

Henry Charles Carey and Isaac Lea belonged to a family of rare literary and business distinction. Henry's father, Mathew Carey, was a man of extraordinary versatility: as publisher and printer he was instrumental in founding a newspaper and two magazines; as an author he wrote books devoted to economics, religion, and politics. When the father retired in 1822, his son, Henry Charles, and Mathew's son-in-law, Isaac Lea, purchased from Mathew the publishing business. Lacking the aggressiveness and astute business ability of Henry, Isaac Lea turned over much of the management of the firm to Henry. And, as time wore on, both Henry and Isaac gave increasing attention to their own writing. Henry retired from the firm in 1838, but Lea along with Blanchard, who had earlier joined the company, continued to operate the business. Finally in 1851 Isaac Lea's son, Henry Charles Lea, succeeded his father. This grandson of Mathew Carey, besides being a publisher, was a learned man, whose explorations into the field of Spanish history stand as permanent contributions to a subject which the late Stanley T. Williams has surveyed with scholarly insight in *The Spanish Background of American Literature* (Yale, 1955).

Dr. Kaser has chosen for study only a brief segment of this distinguished family of author-publishers. But the years from 1822 to 1838, during which H. C. Carey and I. Lea conducted their business, form a significant period for investigation, since at this time Philadelphia maintained a place of central importance in the publishing business of America. By the close of the thirties, however, Philadelphia had begun to feel the sharp competition of New York. When H. C. Carey retired, Harper's had, indeed, started to challenge the position of the Philadelphia firm.

In the author's words, this book attempts not only to "tell an interesting story of human enterprise during an important period of American de-

velopment," but also to "allow some new insight into the working of the nineteenth-century booktrade" (p. 8). It seems to this reviewer that Dr. Kaser has but partly fulfilled his purpose. The first four chapters, indeed, present "The History of the Firm," but do so in a manner so fragmentary that the narrative is deprived of much of its interest and possibly its significance for the reader. These chapters often serve as little more than a catchall for the miscellaneous data which the author has collected. He follows, to be sure, a chronological sequence, but all too frequently he presents his findings without clear or logical transition. This is merely to say that many of the individual data in these chapters, through more skillful treatment, could have been made far more meaningful. The remaining chapters of the book, gathered under the subtitle "The Firm's Place in the Booktrade," execute more perfectly the author's initial design.

H. C. Carey, a man of shrewd business sense, was active on many fronts in keeping his firm foremost among American publishers from 1822 to 1838. During the cholera epidemic starting in July 1832, the company brought out, in sixteen numbers, the *Cholera Gazette*, the last issues appearing in November when the epidemic was well over. Carey also established the *American Quarterly Review* under the editorship of Robert Walsh to compete with the *North American Review*, which was not giving Carey's publications sufficiently favorable attention; and, with the help of Dr. Francis Lieber as editor and compiler, Carey and Lea brought out *The Encyclopaedia Americana*, to which there had been nothing comparable in this country. America's first literary annual, *The Atlantic Souvenir*, also appeared initially with Carey's imprint. But Carey would brook no drop in the sale of his publications. When the *Review* and the *Souvenir* showed even a slightly declining popularity, he immediately sold out the titles to other publishers.

Dr. Kaser presents some interesting data on Carey's publication of the works of American authors. The growing reputation of Irving led Carey to inquire of Ebenezer, Washington's agent in this country, whether the Philadelphia firm might not be allowed to publish *The Sketch Book*. At that time Ebenezer refused, but later in 1824 he consented to Carey and Lea's publication of *Tales of a Traveller*. Then began a business relationship which, with a single lapse, lasted until the time of Henry's retirement in 1838. A similar cordial bond between author and publisher was established in the case of Cooper. In 1826, when *The Last of the Mohicans* appeared, Cooper shifted his publishing affiliations from Wiley in New York to Carey and Lea. Again before Carey left the company, the firm

had brought out fifteen of Cooper's works, in addition to reprinting four of his novels earlier published by Wiley. Carey and Lea also issued fiction by John Neal, J. P. Kennedy and R. M. Bird.

But the major source of publishable fiction lay not in America but in England; and countless forms of ingenuity on the part of American publishers were exerted to procure either the first printed copies or advanced sheets of English novels for reprinting in America. Carey and Lea, like other publishers in the States, worked eagerly to outwit their competitors in bringing out the first American editions of Scott's novels. Unhappily, however, procuring the earliest printed copy or even advanced sheets did not necessarily insure the most authentic text of the novel. Over twenty years ago David Randall in an article in the *Colophon* (I, n.s., 39-56) demonstrated by collation of English and American editions that Carey and Lea had not always printed from Scott's latest textual revision. Kaser, however, adduces much new and significant evidence in his analysis of the troubles that beset Carey and Lea in their attempts to offer to an American public the first American printing of a novel; and often a matter only of hours in time of publication constituted the difference between financial success or failure in marketing the novel in America. Later Carey found it possible to negotiate directly with Constable, Scott's publishers, and still later with Scott himself. Thus the American firm put themselves in a position to reduce the activities of pirating houses. Kaser asserts that the average price which Henry Carey paid for a Scott novel was £75. Scott also sold his *Napoleon* to the firm for £295.

But figures of this kind in the book are not sufficiently complete to give the reader even a relatively adequate picture of the amounts which the company paid to English and particularly to American writers. It is significant to note that in the early 1820's Carey had turned to the publication of American authors, though, because of the difficulty of finding suitable American books in the belles-lettres, Carey confined himself to such areas as medicine, law, travel, and science. By the 1830's, Kaser also declares, Carey began to publish more American works in the field of imaginative literature. These assertions are well documented. But the author's observation that by "the 1830's many American authors were earning their livelihoods with their pens" (p. 70) is less convincingly sustained. Indeed, the pertinency of the latter statement to our inquiry depends, one fears, on the interpretation the reader may care to place on the words "many" and "authors" and on the phrase "with their pens." Certainly no statistics in his book actually support Kaser's generalization

regarding the American writer. True, Carey and Lea declared that in 1828 they had "disbursed to authors and editors more than twenty thousand dollars" (p. 71). But this amount must have included sums paid to English authors or their agents. And how much, in any case, must also have been paid for the editorial services which are mentioned? Carey pointed to even larger sums paid during the early thirties to authors and editors, but, in the judgment of this reviewer, it is impossible to determine in what way these figures apply to the American author. Although Kaser observes that in 1835, "in the nation as a whole, the number of books published that had been written by American authors outnumbered those by foreign authors in every field of endeavor except fiction . . . , poetry, history" (p. 70), such a fact can scarcely prove that these American writers were "earning their livelihoods with their pens." Of American authors published by Carey and Lea, only Cooper, judging from figures that Kaser presents, could have earned his living by his pen.

Dr. Kaser informs us in his preface that he has in preparation an edition of Carey and Lea's *Cost Book*, listing the 900-odd imprints of the firm. Keeping in mind the invaluable aid to the bibliographer which *The Cost Books of Ticknor and Fields* has afforded, one anticipates with pleasure the publication of these official records of Carey and Lea. One likewise hopes that this work will present a fuller statement of the sums paid to English and American authors during the twenties and thirties.

NELSON F. ADKINS

New York University

McDERMOTT, JOHN FRANCIS. *The Lost Panoramas of the Mississippi*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1958. 211 pp. Plates. 8½ x 7 inches. \$7.50.

In the past (and perhaps not only then) Americans were painfully conscious that they had produced no art comparable to Europe's, and in the late 1840's overwhelming effort was made to do something about it—quantitatively, at any rate. Panoramas had been devised towards the end of the eighteenth century; but now certain Americans, three of them professional scene-painters, produced the biggest moving panoramas ever made.

Not once but five times in four years were the banks of the Mississippi depicted on gigantic rolls of canvas. Extravagant claims were made for

each: it was handsomer, more accurate, more interesting than its competitors, and above all it was larger. Banvard's, the earliest, was known as the three-mile painting; Smith's, the second, was called the four-mile painting; the third was announced as three times the length of any other; the fourth was in two sections, and each required an evening to itself; the creator of the fifth, reacting somewhat from these heady statistics, asserted it would be three thousand yards long. None of this was true, of course; but what did it matter? They were twelve feet high and enormously long; they must have been faithful representations, for they entertained audiences familiar with the river; and they had the merit of the travelogue and documentary film, since two of them successfully toured Europe, receiving the accolade of command performances at Windsor and Balmoral. Not a shred of any one of them remains.

Some of the sketch-books used in preparing them still exist, as do landscapes by the artists of places which were included in the panoramas; but their interest is faint compared to that generated by those pre-Hollywood supercolossal epics. Crude they may have been, but they were, at the very least, extraordinary records of the contemporary scene along the river. Their physical size was but one of the reasons that made their preservation impracticable, and after the lapse of a century, we possess, so to speak, only the records of records.

The book is abundantly illustrated, and Mr. McDermott may be congratulated on diligently piecing together the showmen's pamphlets, advertisements, letters, reviews and family recollections into a most beguiling account of vanished Americana.

ROBERT H. TAYLOR

KEYNES, GEOFFREY. *A Bibliography of Dr John Donne, Dean of Saint Paul's*. Third edition. Cambridge, At the University Press, 1958. xviii, 285 pp. 12 collotype plates, 28 line blocks. 10 x 7¾ inches. \$18.50.

WADE, ALLAN. *A Bibliography of the Writings of W. B. Yeats*. [Second edition, revised.] London, Rupert Hart-Davis, 1958; Fair Lawn, New Jersey, Essential Books, [1958]. 449 pp. 6 plates. 8¾ x 5¾ inches. \$11.35.

WILLIAMS, WILLIAM CARLOS. *I Wanted to Write a Poem, The Autobiography of the Works of a Poet, Reported and Edited by Edith Heal*. Boston, Beacon Press, [© 1958]. ix, 99 pp. 9¼ x 6⅞ inches. \$3.95.

ADAMS, CHARLES M. *Randall Jarrell, A Bibliography*. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1958. 72 pp. 9¼ x 6⅛ inches. \$3.00.

BRADBURY, JOHN M. *The Fugitives, A Critical Account*. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, [© 1958]. xiv, 300 pp. 9⅛ x 6¼ inches. \$5.00.

Few bibliographers of an individual author have had an opportunity to revise and expand their work, or to "tidy up the loose ends," as Geoffrey Keynes expresses it. In spite of additions and corrections which the bibliographer may have made to his own copy, the one printed edition must usually remain as his final public statement.

Geoffrey Keynes, in selecting John Donne as a bibliographical subject, made the fortunate choice of a writer whose reputation was to be one of continuous growth during the next fifty years. Keynes was introduced to Donne by Rupert Brooke when the two young men were Cambridge undergraduates. He soon began to collect Donne's books, entering the field when they were still available and relatively inexpensive. In 1914, his bibliography of Donne was first issued for the Baskerville Club in an edition of three hundred copies. The second edition, dedicated to Sir Herbert Grierson, was prepared for the 300th anniversary of Donne's death and published by the Cambridge University Press in 1932. It followed the arrangement of the first edition and described only one early work unknown in 1914, a second issue of *Three Sermons*. But the *Donneiana* presented in other sections was considerably expanded.

The new edition, again dedicated to Sir Herbert Grierson, has grown from 195 to 285 pages. The greatly enlarged section on "Biography and Criticism" clearly reflects present-day interest in Donne studies. A most valuable addition to these titles is the "Supplementary List of Early References to Donne, 1612-1702" made by Professor R. G. Howarth. The list of works from Donne's personal library, to which other scholars have made important additions, is now as complete as present knowledge permits. As much may be said for the astonishing list of contemporary manuscripts once in circulation (but not in John Donne's hand) which are found to have survived. The work as a whole has been enriched by a fuller index and by greater attention to the location of copies. While not pursued with exhaustive vigor, the locations are now more representative of American holdings. Geoffrey Keynes claims no startling discoveries for this third edition but he could very well claim that, in its essentials, it is definitive.

William Butler Yeats welcomed each new collected edition of his work, as it gave him another opportunity to revise and rewrite. His bibliographer, Allan Wade, has also found opportunities to revise and expand his own work. He first prepared a bibliography of Yeats in 1908, which was published separately in an edition of sixty copies and as part of the eighth volume of Yeats' *Collected Works*, printed by A. H. Bullen at the Shakespeare Head Press. In 1951, a full-scale bibliography appeared. But Allan Wade was a Yeats collector (his Yeats material is now at Indiana University) and he continued to revise, correct and add to the text then presented. He died in 1955, and Rupert Hart-Davis performed the final editorial tasks for this "second edition, revised." The 1951 edition had 390 pages while the new edition has 449 pages. The most notable addition is in the index which formerly had four pages and now has thirty. A new section has been introduced, "Yeats and Broadcasting," prepared by George Whalley. This is a fascinating contribution but one may wonder if its inclusion is justified in a bibliography which omits such marginal subjects as musical settings to the poetry, manuscripts, or any record of stage productions, lectures, etc. In both editions a separate section is rather oddly devoted to two books of Yeats' poems in English which were published in Japan. It would seem that they rightly belong in the main section devoted to his books, since it contains English language editions printed in Amsterdam, Florence and Rome. In the list of Cuala Press books in Appendix I, most of the privately issued works, such as *The Wild White Flame*, do not appear.

Some important additions to the list of contributions to periodicals have been made and there are several books of translations into foreign languages which were missed in 1951. In the section "Books by W. B. Yeats," the additions are mainly the fourteen titles, including the important Variorum Edition, which have been published between 1951 and 1957. This is an improved edition, but its revisions do not demand that a new edition be published at this time. That demand has come, presumably, because copies of the work are still needed and the 1951 edition is out of print.

It is easy to imagine how much Geoffrey Keynes and Allan Wade (and all other bibliographers of an author) may have longed for the kind of record Edith Heal has made from the conversation of William Carlos Williams. Her bibliographical contribution is a brief description of his first editions. But with the poet holding each of these books in his hand, she has encouraged him to talk about how and when they were written

and published. These recollections are highly entertaining and enlightening. He tells things which neither Miss Heal nor any other bibliographer could ever find through the usual methods of research. On first thought, a series of oral bibliographies such as this would be a wonderful idea to pursue, for Dr. Williams has a good memory and his statements are apparently accurate. But these are matters which elude both proof and disproof. Employing this method with an author who had no bibliographical interest, or with one who preferred a good story to the details of exact fact, could be sadly misleading in its results.

In his bibliography of Randall Jarrell, Charles M. Adams has also worked closely with the author. In a section devoted to his translations, published and unpublished, Jarrell arranged the material himself. This poet, critic and novelist is now in the midst of his career. Unlike Yeats and Donne, the need for a second edition of his bibliography will depend upon his future work and upon the stature he achieves as the years pass. His present accomplishment, in which we can see something of Yeats' influence upon technique, holds high promise for the future. The bibliography, well planned and attractively printed, is divided into seven parts: books; contributions to books; publication index to the poems ("The Death of the Ball Turret Gunner" has had sixteen appearances); a similar index to the prose; book reviews written by Jarrell; translations by Jarrell (translations of his own works appear in other appropriate sections); a biographical outline or chronology of Jarrell's career.

Randall Jarrell was born in Nashville and was graduated from Vanderbilt University. But he was born too late to be one of The Fugitives, that remarkable group of creative talents who first gave their message to the world in the pages of a magazine of verse, *The Fugitive*, published at Vanderbilt from 1922 to 1925. These young Southern intellectuals were in close enough agreement in their philosophy of literature to become the leaders of a revolution in American literary criticism after they moved from Nashville. To some they have seemed dogmatic, socially reactionary and overintellectual in their formulations. They have overweighted their poetry and have overread in their criticism. They have found few writers of the past who met their theoretical standards. But, through the brilliant application of symbolic naturalism, aesthetic formalism and ironic dualism they have been a spur to the Southern Literary Renaissance and are largely responsible for "the New Criticism." Their influence is a dominant force in most of our literary quarterlies and in many of our university English faculties.

Bradbury's book is basically a critical study of the poetry, fiction and criticism of the Fugitives. It is an intelligent book, but not an engaging one for the general reader. It will not serve as an introduction to these writers, since it presumes, in the manner of the Fugitives, that the reader has already done his home work.

A selected bibliography of twenty pages appears at the end of *The Fugitives*. General references are followed by bibliographies of works by and about eleven writers: John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, Robert Penn Warren, Cleanth Brooks, Jr., Donald Davidson, Merrill Moore, Andrew Lytle, Stanley Johnson, Walter Clyde Curry, Ridley Wills and William C. Frierson. In our own time, these men—particularly the first five—made a cohesive group which is unique. To find its counterpart, one must travel back in American literary history to the time of the Transcendentalists.

GERALD D. McDONALD

New York Public Library

EDEL, LEON, and LAURENCE, DAN H. *A Bibliography of Henry James*. London, Rupert Hart-Davis, 1957. Plates. 8½ x 5½ inches. £4:4:0.

With the possible exception of James Fenimore Cooper, whose literary output includes first editions published in Dresden, Florence and Paris as well as London, New York and Philadelphia, Henry James presents the bibliographer with more difficulties than any major American man of letters publishing on both sides of the Atlantic. These include, *inter alia*, copyright editions, piracies, transatlantic shipment of sheets for binding on the other side, and the very tricky Colonial editions and Times Book Club editions. The last two are peculiar to the time and place of James's period of highest productivity.

To them may be added two characteristics of James himself. One is his lifelong compulsion to revise, which he carried in the case of the "New York Edition" of the novels and tales almost to the point of attempting to rewrite literary history. The second is his preference for anonymity in hundreds of essays and reviews. He had no patience with bibliographical research. He was hostile to every attempt to revive early writings that he preferred "to forget and keep buried." However, when he himself thriftily chose to do the exhuming and reviving, as in the case of *Stories Revived*, 3 vols., London, 1885—stories that had appeared chiefly in the *Atlantic* and the *Galaxy* in the '60's—it was of course a different matter.

To their complex task the collaborators bring complementary talents and qualifications which blend in a homogeneous text. Mr. Laurence's rôle is partly set forth in the Introduction—"collating all the editions, tracking down translations, and extending the research to publishers' files"; but more may be inferred from his absorbing narrative published in these PAPERS for the First Quarter of this year, entitled "A Bibliographical Novitiate: In Search of Henry James." Here it becomes clear that, whenever a problem resisted ordinary means of solution, Sherlockian methods were invoked. No clue was too unpromising to be neglected. Authors in customs houses we've had aplenty in the annals of American literature—from Hawthorne to E. A. Robinson—but was there ever before a bibliographer who carried his research to a customs house? Laurence did, to search (successfully) for shipping invoices in order to verify the size of an imported edition.

Dr. Edel's contribution to the James bibliography derives from his "long saturation in Jamesian scholarship." This has served the ends of the collaboration in various ways. Most important, perhaps, has been his ability vastly to enlarge the Jacobean canon by confirming identification on the basis of internal evidence of numerous anonymous essays and reviews. His unique ability to dip into the voluminous, widely scattered and largely unpublished James correspondence and come up with pertinent citations concerning the publishing history of specific titles illumines the explanatory notes throughout the volume.

An author bibliography in our day has two principal uses. First it should furnish readers and scholars with a ready means of learning where all of the author's printed writings may be found, whether in books, pamphlets or periodicals. Second, it should provide descriptions of the items listed sufficiently full and accurate to serve collectors, librarians and dealers as a basis for identification. This bibliography performs both functions efficiently and in generous measure.

It gives 205 collations of first editions, first American editions, first English editions, first Continental editions, first separate editions, first one-volume editions, etc., of 100 major works by James; collations of 54 editions of 42 books containing contributions by James other than letters. It lists 172 books or periodicals containing letters or excerpts from letters, 582 appearances of James in periodicals (1864-1957), and 125 translations of work by James in books or periodicals. Even this massive achievement did not suffice to quench the zeal of the compilers. There are additional catalogues of English-language foreign editions, Braille

editions, talking books for the blind, and of such manuscripts as are known to have survived, with their locations.

Physical descriptions, deliberately cast in terms involving a minimum of technical mumbo-jumbo, appear to this reviewer to meet the requirements of all but those who delight in a display of printing-room jargon for its own sake. Each collation is based on the examination of at least 12 copies wherever that many could be located. Information provided includes binding variants, publication date and price, number of copies printed.

This bibliography is distinguished by good taste, skilful organization and zestful execution from its dedication-page headed by LeRoy Phillips, compiler of the excellent pioneer (1906) bibliography of James, to its exhaustive twenty-five page double-column index which furnishes the reader with something approaching push-button control of its vast assemblage of information.

JOHN S. VAN E. KOHN

Letter to the Editor

Sir,

As the British bibliographer referred to in Mr. Laurence's entertaining article *In Search of Henry James*, may I be allowed to correct the impression he conveys that my adoption of the British Colour Council's Dictionary of Colours in describing cloths, was arbitrary and irrational. I do not know what he means when he says that I took "quite literally" John Carter's suggestion concerning standardization of cloth, since he is quite explicit and unequivocal on the point. He writes—in his *A. B. C. for Book Collectors*—"There has never been much precision or uniformity in describing the colours of cloth used in Publishers' bindings and until we all agree to use the British Colour Council's standard scale, this impression will no doubt persist."

Mr. Carter was rightly concerned with the tendency of so many bibliographers to use terms depending upon their own idiosyncratic interpretation of colours. The weakness of Mr. Laurence's excellent bibliography lies, to my mind, in his adoption of such contradictory terms as "grey green," "red brown," "blue green," "olive grey" etc., which can only bemuse the collector when there are variants in binding in *one* shade of colour.

The Dictionary referred to above can be found in most public libraries in this country, and anyone can compare his copy with the chart and know at once if he has the edition described in the bibliography. As a practical exposition of the value of this standard scale, I would cite the first edition of *The Princess Casamassima* which Mr. Laurence states (A29) is cased in a "dark blue green." I have seen two copies of the first edition of this book and one (which is in my possession) is in a distinctive variant binding, though otherwise identical. This may well be the copy mentioned by Mr. Laurence as being referred to in the *Gazette* of the Grolier Club. If I were to employ Mr. Laurence's nomenclature, I would say one is a "bluish green" and the other (my copy) a "greenish blue," but this method of describing cloths is, to my mind, unsatisfactory because no one from this description would have much idea which copy he possessed. If, however, Mr. Laurence had adopted the

method I used in my Maugham bibliography, he would have described the first edition as being cased in "petrol blue" (which is nearer a green than blue) and the variant binding as "Bengal blue." And by referring to this Dictionary he would know at once which copy of the first edition he owned. And as a further illustration, I would add that I have yet to meet two persons who will describe the colour of the casing of the first English edition of Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* in identical terms. One will describe it as "green" or "bluish green," the other as "blue" or "greenish blue"!

As I pointed out in my preface, I retain reservations as to the Dictionary's practicality in its present form, as many book cloths defy even the 378 examples shown on the chart. Nevertheless it is at least a step on the way to the systematized description of colours of binding cloth desired by Mr. Carter, and until such a time bibliographers are agreed in adopting some such standard scale, I maintain it is more consistent and less liable to error than the arbitrary one adopted by Mr. Laurence.

I am, etc.

R. TOOLE STOTT

London, England

6th July, 1958

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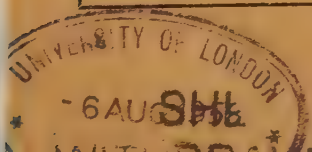
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VOLUME 52, NUMBER 1, JANUARY, FEBRUARY, MARCH, 1958

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at 100 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.

(P. O. Box No. 397, GRAND CENTRAL STATION, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.)

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: \$7.00 PER YEAR

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